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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1972

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SLOVENIANS DISCUSS IMPACT OF CARCANI ON ALBANIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 19 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Joze Sircej: "Is Nothing New in Tirana?"]

[Excerpts] Enver Hoxha appeared in public at the ninth session of the Albanian People's Assembly, for 2 days in a row. The Albanian press agency, ATA, reported this. Although Albania has a television station, the television viewers did not see any pictures of Hoxha at the Assembly. Someone recognized his voice on the radio but that someone was the Albanian ambassador to Belgrade, in a statement which he gave to some Western correspondents. Enver Hoxha appeared in public on 24 December of last year when he visited an art exhibit in Tirana. This was also reported by ATA.

From the reports, although they are not impartial testimonies, given about the public appearances of the first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party, it follows that it is probably true that Enver Hoxha is alive.

Still more: there are signs that Hoxha has been victorious once again in some sort of political upheaval (which in the Albanian leadership, up to now, ended with the death of the main loser), just as he was victorious in November 1941 when the provisional Central Committee of the Albanian party was established.

On 18 December Hoxha's longtime right hand man, Mehmet Shehu, was the loser. Albanian diplomats said recently that there was no official funeral because suicide is condemned in Albania. Victorian puritanism, Albanian style, was one of the reasons for the icy silence in regard to Shehu's departure from this world. But the information about Shehu's death was so little and so devoid of positive elements, an obvious sign of disgrace beyond any apparent or real indignation toward those who take their own life.

This impression was further strengthened by the words of unreserved praise with which Enver Hoxha nominated the new premier Adil Carcani. Hoxha, who was greeted in the People's Assembly "with stormy applause and ovations," said that the new premier is a person "who is known and esteemed for his great experience in state and party affairs," who "has worked constantly and untiringly and struggled for the implementation of Marxist-Leninist directives and the ideology of our illustrious party." Carcani's official biography stresses that the new premier "everywhere and on every occasion has implemented and firmly defended Marxist-Leninist

ideology, the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha. He always has fought against domestic enemies and against foreign imperialists and revisionists of all types."

The list of ministers of the new government no longer includes the name of Fecor Shehu, the nephew of the late Shehu, and Albania has a new minister of internal affairs. With the death of Shehu, all his relatives fell into disgrace, if they were not dragged there by head and shoulders.

The emphasis of the appointment of the new chairman of the Council of Ministers seems to be in accordance with the official desires of Tirana; it stresses the incontestability of the Hoxha leadership and--as Carcani's maiden speech states--the perseverance in the direction of "the unceasing struggle against imperialism and revisionism."

Does the advent of the new chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers mean persistence, as before, in a hard line as well as some new elements? In regard to these elements, might the causes be distorted because of the fact that Shehu was obliged to leave? Are Carcani's words in regard to neighboring Yugoslavia as harsh as the statements of other leading Albanian functionaries? He warned about the common "Soviet-Bulgarian threat" which menaces both Albania and Yugoslavia and stressed, at the same time, that "we have wanted to and still want to have good neighborly relations" but it is the "Yugoslav revisionists who have impaired relations and diverted them to a blind alley."

In his first speech one cannot discern any softer tone toward Yugoslavia or any new proposals for a partial normalization of relations. The question arises as to how much significance can be ascribed to the statement of the new premier that the Albanian Government will "carry out a constructive effort to develop international relations." Does this mean at least a partial abandonment of many years of self-imposed isolation? Does this mean that in some areas they intend to reduce international isolation, in regard to this state or a group of states? So far there have been no definite signs of this from Tirana.

CSO: 2800/207

IMPORTANCE OF DEFENSE TASKS STRESSED

AU161812 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 4 Dec 81 p 2

[Article by Veli Llakaj, deputy defense minister and chief of the General Army Staff: "The Country's Increased Defense Capacity Depends on the Understanding and Application of the Directive that 'The Country's Defense Is a Task Above All Tasks'"]

[Text] The eighth AWP Congress stressed that the achievement of the country's economic and political independence, the achievement of the country's defense by the people themselves, and the arming of the masses with Marxist-Leninist ideology constitute those strong and firm foundations on which our socialist fortress stands.

The party has continuously steeled this unity between the construction and defense of socialism. Owing to the party's great work of clarification and education, our people have become increasingly more aware that they must be not only builders, but also defenders of what they are building. Consequently, as was stressed at the eighth AWP Congress, our people and their army are working and training at the same time and are always keeping their vigilance and readiness high to defend the victories of socialism.

The party has carried out an all-round effort with the masses concerning their understanding and application of the directive that "the country's defense is a task above all tasks." At the same time, organizational measures have been adopted to set up various training institutions attached to work and production centers, agricultural cooperatives and in the schools, where all the armed people carry out military training according to a specific program and with specific objectives. The problems pertaining to military training are now becoming increasingly more integrated and an inseparable part of all aspects of our people's activity. In his report to the eighth AWP Congress, Comrade Enver stressed that "the party's directive that 'the country's defense is a task above all tasks' is becoming a great reality in our country. The country's increased defense capacity depends to a considerable extent on a complete and correct understanding of this directive, and on the concrete effort made to apply it." This gives rise to a number of tasks confronting the army commands and staffs, as well as the state and economic organs and the mass organizations in the field. The first of these tasks is to constantly strengthen, modernize and revolutionize the People's Army as the major force for the country's defense. As was stressed at the congress, this will be achieved by increasing our efforts to achieve a high level of political-military training, to master and creatively implement the demands of our military art of people's

warfare, to master and perfect all types of weapons and equipment, and to constantly strengthen military order and discipline on the basis of military regulations. All this is to be achieved through intensive training at a high scientific and qualitative level and in constant struggle against formalism, monotony, stereotypism, concessions and simplification.

The attainment of these high quality indexes in political-military training requires that account-rendering and the sense of responsibility should be further strengthened, in the army and in the field, and that there should be greater understanding for order and discipline, the intensification of training and increased combat-readiness, making no distinctions and no concessions in any of the defense structures. Qualitative improvements in all matters pertaining to defense also require a strengthening of cooperation between military commands and staffs, on the one hand, and the state and economic organs on the other. That shallow understanding of cooperation limited solely to the participation of reservists and other defense structures in training has been overcome by now. What is currently required is to deepen daily knowledge and mutual information on the training standard and combat-readiness of these contingents, on the degree of mastery achieved in the political-military training program, on weaknesses and shortcomings observed, and on what joint measures are needed to overcome them and to strengthen positive aspects. Interest alone is not sufficient; mutual control is also required to ensure that the organization and substance of training is scientifically based and in accordance with the military art of people's warfare.

This also requires that every member of the defense structures should raise his consciousness and degree of responsibility in military training, in order to understand our military organization measures and the specific tasks arising from them as profoundly and possible. All this requires that the cadres in the army and in the field, the mass organizations, the state organs, commands and staffs should, under the party's leadership, carry out a great effort in education and clarification. The major aim in this is to make everyone conscious of the fact that the current stage of our economic and social development, as well as the country's imperialist-revisionist encirclement, requires workers, farmers, specialists and students, but also capable soldiers; in other words, it requires citizen-soldiers and soldier-citizens.

It is particularly important to deeply penetrate the substance of Comrade Enver's teaching at the eighth AWP Congress that: "The country's defense is strengthened and becomes invincible when the tasks in the political, ideological, economic and military fields are understood and implemented in close relationship and inseparably from each other." This means that the party's directive that "the country's defense is a task above all tasks," must guide the implementation of all tasks on a broad front, persistently struggling against unilateralism and the mechanical separation of defense from economic problems. Such an understanding and implementation of tasks, Comrade Enver teaches us, will further consolidate our internal front in all directions and make it even more capable to meet all situations successfully, to become an iron wall against any aggressor who would dare raise his hand against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This dictates that we should rely even more strongly on advanced experience, that we should deepen and extend the good experience that we have accumulated during these years in several free military schools, as in the free military school of the "Llesh Pal Cupi" Cooperative and elsewhere, where the defense tasks are really considered

inseparably from economic and social tasks. As was stressed at the eighth AWP Congress, the consolidation of the free military schools, which serve to strengthen the links between the army and the people, makes military training an inseparable part of the life of all working people. Our duty is therefore to work even more to raise the standard of organization and training in these schools and to transform them all into model schools, that they may buzz with life at all times and that people of all ages and professions may go there enthusiastically to educate themselves militarily. This will further educate our people to be citizen-soldiers and soldier-citizens of a genuine socialist society, and will have considerable influence on raising the standard of military training.

The full implementation of the directive of the eighth AWP Congress that "the country's defense is a task above all tasks" therefore requires intelligent education in raising the consciousness and sense of responsibility in military training. It also requires intensive training in accordance with the demands of the military art of people's warfare and regulations in the free military schools. It requires constant organization and control to prevent all concessions or carelessness, in the field and in the army, against alien manifestations and liberal attitudes toward them.

Our party has always loyally and creatively implemented the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in the great question of defense, as in all other fields, even blazing new paths. Our entire soldier-people are building and defending socialism and are enjoying its magnificent fruits. With the party in the lead, they have determinedly set out to implement the magnificent program of the eighth AWP Congress to build socialism and strengthen the homeland, holding the pickaxe in one hand and the rifle in the other.

CSO: 2100/43

BRIEFS

SHEHU PRESS OBITUARIES--Tirana ZERI I RINISE of 19 December 1981, publishes on page one the announcement of the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania concerning the suicide of Mehmet Shehu, together with an obituary signed by these bodies. Both the announcement and the obituary are identical with referent items, except that the first graf of the obituary itself also contains the aforementioned announcement. The obituary is placed on the top right hand corner of the newspaper, spanning two columns, together with a 3 1/2 by 2 1/2 inch photograph of Mehmet Shehu. The newspaper contains no other reference to Shehu and is completely normal in its content and format. [Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT and BASHKIMI of 19 December publish on the top right hand corner both the announcement of Shehu's suicide and his obituary, together with a 3 1/2 by 2 1/2 inch photograph, exactly as in referent item in ZERI I RINISE of 19 December. The remainder of each newspaper is completely normal and contains no further reference to Shehu. Tirana PUNA 22 December and DRITA 20 December, which are the first issues of these newspapers to be published after 19 December, contain neither the announcement of Shehu's suicide nor any obituary or any other material whatsoever relating to Shehu or his suicide. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2100/43

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEPUTY COMMANDER REVIEWS 35-YEAR DEVELOPMENT OF BORDER TROOPS

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 48, 1981 (signed to press 23 Nov 81) p 7

[VA interview with Lt Gen Gerhard Lorenz, deputy commander, GDR Border Troops; chief, Political Administration; date and place not given: "Peace and Socialism Need Reliably Secured Borders: 35th Anniversary of GDR Border Troops--High Light in the Societal Life of Our Republic"]

[Text] Lt Gen Gerhard Lorenz was born into a worker's family on 24 May 1930 in Freital. From 1944 to 1947 he prepared himself for the bricklayer's occupation. In 1948 he joined the working class party and then also began his military service, first as a sergeant with the Dresden Kreis Office of the People's Police. His subsequent assignment as deputy for political work in a border company was followed by troop and formation assignments in political work and as that of a commander of a border command post. Since 1973, Lt Gen Lorenz has been deputy commander of the border troops and chief of the Political Administration. He has graduated from the Karl Marx Party College and the Friedrich Engels Military Academy.

[Question] 35 years GDR border troops--that calls for sincere congratulations and for a review. What do you find to be the special importance of this anniversary?

[Answer] 1 December 1981, the 35th anniversary of the GDR border troops, is a holiday not only for us border soldiers. It also is a high light in the societal life of our republic. So we celebrate this day together with the working people in our country and the members of the GDR armed forces. The border troops, recruited out of the workers class and led by the SED, are a part of the working people and have always proven a reliable instrument of our workers and farmers power.

By way of review, the Deputy Minister for National Defense and Chief of the Border Troops, at the end of the 1980/81 training year, affirmed that good results were achieved by the units and troop components in the year of our 10th party congress and of our anniversary. Through close cooperation with the protective and

security organs and in confident cooperation with the population along the border, the inviolability of the national border and order and security in the border area have been ensured at all times. In 1980/81, in socialist competition, the best results thus far in the history of that competition were achieved among the border troops. One out of every two soldiers and NCO's earned optimum ratings and 50 percent of all our collectives, the best performance title.

[Question] What has now become part of the 35-year tradition of the GDR border troops?

[Answer] This can be answered by extending what I just said. The border soldiers have always stood up splendidly in socialist competition. All initiatives and mass movements in years past served our reliably fulfilling our class mission.

Let us take another look back at history: initially, mainly those communists were put in charge who had proven themselves in the International Brigade in Spain, during the status of illegality, in the fascist penitentiaries and concentration camps and by the side of our Soviet class comrades in the antifascist resistance. That included such former members of the border troops as Maj Gens Hermann Gartmann, Walter Breitfeld and Paul Ludwig, and Col Albert Giebel and Kurt Hoefer. They had a big hand in writing the first chapter of the history of the border troops. Their lives and struggles for the cause of the socialist revolution also served our border soldiers as a constant spur for their exemplary fulfillment of our class mission today.

Another tradition is that from the outset our comrades were supported in their tough and responsible duty by citizens in the border region. This confident and friendly cooperation has done well in the decades behind us. Today we may say the entire people feels responsible for a secure national border and the border soldiers are forcefully being supported by thousands of citizens.

Their warding off all provocations and hostile assaults against our national border bears witness to the fortitude, steadfastness and clear political standpoint of our comrades. That also is part of the good tradition of the border troops. It includes the honorary duty to fulfill the legacy of our murdered comrades.

[Question] Initially you mentioned the SED leadership role. Where does that become apparent?

[Answer] Our GDR border troops having turned into a reliable and mighty power organ of our socialist state in their 35 years is mainly due to the SED's clear leadership. Threatened by the West, the party in good time organized the armed protection of the borders of our workers and farmers power as an element of the antifascist-democratic revolution in the GDR.

The party's leadership role has proven the most important source for the strength and power of the border troops throughout this historic development. It is reflected in the steady consolidation of individual command, the greater fighting strength of the SED basic organizations and the deepening of the basic organizations' influence on all aspects of military affairs. Extremely great is the constant personal care by the party executive and Comrade Erich Honecker,

general secretary of the SED Central Committee, for incessantly modernizing our border security and providing the members of our border troops with increasingly better service and living conditions.

The 10th party congress has charged the NVA and the protective and security organs with the compelling mission "to ensure the sovereignty of the GDR, its territorial integrity, the inviolability of its borders and its national security." This makes the border troops' requirement clear. To us that means ensuring the inviolability of our national border under any condition, proscribing any extension of provocations against GDR territory, firmly enforcing our state's sovereign rights and, through cooperation with the NVA, being always ready and able reliably to fulfill all tasks in safeguarding the GDR's national border and sovereignty. While doing so, we thank the party for its steady solicitude.

[Question] What is your view of the comradeship-in-arms relations between the GDR border troops and the USSR border troops?

[Answer] Border troop development is inseparable from the selfless aid of our Soviet class comrades and comrades-in-arms. From the very beginning our Soviet comrades helped us organize a reliable border security and provided, in particular, the leadership cadre of what was then the German Border Police with valuable experiences.

Because of the space between us it is unfortunately impossible to foster direct personal contacts between the border soldiers of the two countries. Practical experience has shown, however, that distances over thousands of kilometers all the way to Brest or to the Ussuri are no barrier to cultivating deep feelings of friendship for one another or to learning from one another.

Studying the valuable combat experiences of the Soviet border troops plays a great role. Our border soldiers are quite familiar with the legendary glorious deeds of the Soviet border soldiers and heroes of the Soviet Union such as Col N. F. Karatsupa and Col F. Kaimanov. Very much they like to read such accounts as "Die Waldfestung" [The Forest Fortress], "Der Spurensucher" [The Track Finder], "Die als erste den Schlag auf sich nehmen" [Those Who Brave the First Strike], or "In den Listen nicht erfasst" [Not Accounted For].

[Question] As to the confrontation policy of the United States and the other aggressive NATO circles, what does that do to the GDR's national border and to West Berlin?

[Answer] Per se one may say that provocations and assaults against our national border have increased in scope and severity. Every day our soldiers perceive the increasing toughness of the class conflict. The scale of criminal intrigues against our national border and the order and security in the border region is very broad. It ranges from insults and demands to commit treason to the use of weapons against our border soldiers. And then also, border security installations have been destroyed and our air space has been violated. That goes together with increasing slander of our border troops by Western media and a boundless agitation against our border security measures. FRG border security concentrates on reconnaissance against our border security. It also acts as "expert" spokesman when gangs form along the border and has repeatedly given fire support to provocateurs. NATO war exercises, furthermore, are being held increasingly closer

to the border. In connection with that, it is worth recalling that every war the capitalists contrived in this century started with the violation of existing borders and the contempt for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states.

Thus, the highest vigilance is called for. We will fulfill our class mission under any conditions.

[Concluding remark] We thank you for the interview, General Lorenz.

5885
CSO: 2300/100

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

AUTOMATION'S IMPACT ON MILITARY TRAINING, IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, 1981 (signed to press 15 Sep 81)
pp 281-283

[Article by Col Gen W. Fleissner, deputy minister for national defense:
"Mastery of Modern Combat Equipment Requires Intensification of Political
and Military Leadership, Education and Training"]

[Text] Seven months have passed since the 10th SED Congress. During this interval army personnel and border soldiers and civilian employees have been very busy in putting into effect the resolutions from our highest party forum, which are far-reaching and are oriented to comprehensive effects. Successes achieved thereby are deeply rooted in the awareness of the greater responsibility assumed by the socialist armed forces today in the struggle for safeguarding peace and socialism.

The 1980's assume a special place in the efforts by our army personnel and border soldiers, aimed at the continued reliable protection of our socialist construction for the good of our people.

The 10th SED Congress considered that the class conflict between socialism and imperialism entails all spheres and domains of society and that the decisive effects in this struggle come from the economic field. That also applies fully to military affairs.

Found confirmed today more than ever is the correctness of Friedrich Engels' remark in his "Anti-Duehring," that nothing more depends on economic preconditions than the army and the navy, and that weapons production depends on economic capacity, on the economic situation, on the material means available to those in power.

By being oriented to combining the achievements of scientific-technical progress with the advantages of socialism, our 10th party congress conformed with the social processes that are changing the world in the 20th century: the social revolution and the scientific-technical revolution. Out of that also grow enormous potentials for strengthening our socialist national defense as well as for continuing the revolution in military affairs, i.e., for fulfilling the military class mission decided on by the 10th SED Congress.

Whereas military affairs in the 1950's in terms of qualitative changes went by leaps and bounds from conventional arms to nuclear arms as the main means of warfare and for achieving the basic purposes of war, by the late 1970's we entered a new phase of the revolution in military affairs. This involves the most important changes since nuclear weapons were first introduced: the consistent application of electronics and automation in modern weapons, command and reconnaissance systems and the introduction of more effective types of ammunition.

The process going on in our army now makes for fundamental changes in the relations between man and equipment. This is analogous to the scientific-technical revolution in our economy. Karl Marx, anticipating the dawn of the era of automated production, correctly attributed it to communist society and defined the essence of these changes. The worker, as Marx said, places himself alongside the technological process itself instead of being the chief actor in it. Previously a participant in production, he now becomes its guardian and regulator. This fact has a revolutionizing importance to man and also to his reacting to such technology.

In all previous phases of human development and history, man and technology in production would function as a unified whole: while technology is dead without man, man is impotent without technology. Proceeding from this interaction, a redistribution of the functions of the human and technical components was brought about. The qualitative leap attained through automation frees the hands and the brain of man for producing in greater human dignity.

Also in the system development of man and his combat equipment inevitabilities can be discerned in the development of the components involved:

1. Gradually freed from the functions in the man-technology system that do not conform to his proper nature, man lives up to his proper creative, and that means determining, role.
2. Through improving quality and quantity of combat equipment, man improves the effectiveness of his military activity and enlarges his opportunities to solve the combat tasks assigned to him.
3. Man changes his character in the man-combat technology system. The structure of this relation becomes more complicated as it proceeds from a single soldier using his particular weapon toward the responsibility of the military collective for releasing the working principles of a whole combat technology system or complex.

It means that the version of a "push-button" war that has been spread by the ideologists of imperialist warfare does not stand up. In a future war the role of man would not diminish but rather assume greater weight. Friedrich Engels wrote of the "never ending revolution in weapons technology" which in its social function is so significant that "it allows no one to be ready for war." Under the conditions of the revolution in military affairs, a permanently high combat readiness therefore is an entity that knows of no upper limits.

We must always realize that the scientific-technical progress embodied in our modern technology does not automatically or on its own translate into combat readiness or fighting strength but only through conscious mastery by the soldiers, the military combat collectives.

For fulfilling the tasks assigned by the Minister for National Defense the socialist military collective is gaining increasing importance.

The operations unit, the crew, the squad are the typical structural forms in our NVA that ensure an effective handling of the combat tasks assigned.

The modern systems of combat equipment are marked by the most complicated ties and relations among their various elements and by how greatly the whole system of combat equipment, in order to function, depends on accurate steps by each and every army member.

Our minister, Gen Heinz Hoffmann, said recently: "The most modern weapons, however highly they may be automated, are centrally linked with their functional capacity--which is the man who decides whether a system works in time and reliably."

Thus, e.g., the time factor has become an essential criterion for military mastery. There are only fractions of seconds between sighting a target, measuring the distance by means of laser telemetry, feeding the data into the radio computer, and releasing the shot.

Precise coordination alone, e.g. among all the forces involved in the air guidance of a modern interceptor in our air defense, makes possible effective combat against an air-borne enemy today. A delay in the pilot's reaction of but one-third of a second could produce a course deviation of 300 meters and more.

Already there are 4,000 different military classifications for soldiers in our army while 20 years ago there were only 1,500. The coordination of this large collective of specialists, used in a differentiated manner and in a division of labor, demands of each individual rigid discipline, highest military mastery and reliable operations.

The readiness and abilities of our army personnel are directly reflected today by our degree of combat readiness. A high political awareness of how proper and just our struggle for socialism and peace is, attested to by being ready, translates into such an effort for high military mastery and, thus, into the ability to use modern weapons with full effect. This turns ideological clarity into fighting strength.

The fundamentally new relation of man which is forming in the current phase of the revolution in military affairs in the man-technology relationship gives a very strong boost to the importance of ideological work.

A soldier who can see what it is all about because he has a sound Marxist-Leninist knowledge, understanding the impulses that make social progress prevail, and precisely defining his own place within this revolutionary process, will most effectively use and master this modern equipment. In what he does he combines socialist patriotism--his love for his socialist fatherland, the GDR--with proletarian internationalism, the protection of socialism in the form of the community of socialist states.

But not only the requirements for a clear class-bound position and for military skill and military-technical knowledge are growing. The relation between man and modern combat equipment calls for increasingly concentrated mental activity.

A soldier must be able independently to compute, control, check, regulate, eliminate interference, and analyze and process data. All this takes place under the conditions of modern battle, under tense moral and physical stress. In a war imposed upon us by the imperialists it is the fighter with the faster reaction capacity, the stronger nerves and the greater physical condition who would win.

With the multiplicity of effective factors of modern combat equipment and arms there multiplies, analogously, a specialist's responsibility in commanding and handling such weapons. He furthermore often bears the responsibility for inestimable values. Therein is expressed, not last, the trust our state places in our youth today.

The foundations for it were laid by our workers and farmers state where our youth receives solid culture, education and training. That ranges from the care and comfort of the socialist family via the children's facilities, the education at the general education polytechnical secondary school, the pioneer, FDJ and sports organizations all the way to vocational training. These are essential prerequisites for our fulfilling our class mission.

Idiomatically we say: he who rests, rusts. That is also true for military personnel dealing with modern combat equipment. Only a member of the army who constantly improves his skills and develops his knowledge and facilities until he obtains a complete mastery over the equipment conforms to the requirements for the 1980's.

The mastery of the combat equipment entrusted to the army members today expresses itself also in its being effectively and economically used for providing an optimum increase in fighting strength and combat readiness. Thinking and acting in terms of military economy is objectively gaining greater importance under the current conditions in the NVA and in the GDR border troops. High combat readiness is no longer conceivable without regard for military economy.

Proper economic use and repair of the equipment is basic to permanently maintaining the combat equipment systems and complexes entrusted to us at maximum combat readiness. That makes a military-economic approach an indispensable element of military operations on all command levels. This demand addresses everyone, be he on official duty, on the battlefield, at sea, in the air or along the national border.

Karl Marx reduced all economy ultimately to time economy. To us today that means intensifying combat training and gaining an optimum increase in combat readiness by a minimum input of material and financial means and also of creative activity.

An example for it is the use of training devices, simulators and other modern training equipment, by which the demand for intensification and economizing can be met effectively.

To apply all that massively and thereby translate it into an essential economy factor is mainly a demand made on the leadership activity of our chiefs, commanders, heads and other superiors on all levels. Here we find the greatest opportunities for further improving our combat readiness.

Leadership activity for socialist officers always means working with people. Thus the "art of leadership," as Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, has said "always is the art of persuasion. A solitary designing of plans and administration always only move paper. Sound arguments move the thoughts and conduct of millions of people and turn good plans into reality."

Intensification of political and military leadership, education and training are needed to provide our army personnel and combat collectives with mastery of modern combat equipment systems and complexes. Without it, even the best weapons will not qualitatively enhance our combat readiness. That is why when a superior in self-criticism assesses what he has done, everything comes down to these questions: What have we accomplished? What is the result of all our efforts? Have we achieved a measurable increase in combat readiness by our way of preparing the individual soldiers and the entire combat collective?

A scientific manner of conduct is required to cope successfully with this demand placed on our leadership activity. While the highest party assembly of the SED emphasized the special role of science, we have found that confirmed a thousand times in practice, in our troops and naval forces. There is no longer any decision or command that could ignore scientific principles or inevitabilities. Science pervades our conduct more and more. That is why the report by the secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the NVA to the twelfth delegates conference of the SED party organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops states: "We seek the kind of intellectual life in the whole officers corps that is determined by scientific debate and by pressing and looking for effective solutions in practical military affairs. It is a challenge to all cadres to turn consistently to the latest state of knowledge and deliberately turn science into their ally."

The current tasks in the military-technical and military-economic field are marked by the sound scientific course of the SED in implementation of its party program.

The deep meaning of the mission of the members of the NVA and of the GDR border troops in the new training year is to make a decisive contribution to it on behalf of safeguarding peace and socialism.

5885
CSO: 2300/101

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FORMER AGENT GIVES INFORMATION ON INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

West German Report

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 2, 11 Jan 82 pp 56-57, 59

[Unattributed report: "GDR Espionage: Bear Cans for State Security—A Former Agent Reveals Internal Matters of East Berlin Ministry for State Security." A translation of the agent's own account about his stay in East Germany follows this report]

[Text] One year after his successful escape to the GDR, former State Security agent Erich Ziegenhain surrendered to West German authorities revealing internal matters, operating procedures and embarrassing slip-ups of the East Berlin Ministry for State Security. Now the returnee is being indicted for having engaged in intelligence activities.

Two Germans had gotten together at the "Lindencorse" on Unter den Linden in East Berlin; but the atmosphere was far from relaxed. The West German was stand-offish, causing his host to say: "It's funny, all you people in the West seem to think that this side of the fence is just crawling with State Security men." He knew what he was saying because he was a State Security man himself.

As it happens, that came out soon enough in the course of the conversation. The State Security man did not beat around the bush, asking for information and threatening otherwise to make public compromising material about the West German who had attended the Free University in the sixties and had had many Eastern contacts at that time. That did the trick. By the end of the conversation, the guest had been signed up as a GDR agent.

That is how a relationship lasting for years began in the early seventies between Erich Ziegenhain, an official of the Hessian ministry for social affairs, and Gerhard Jauck, a major and department head in the GDR ministry for state security (MfS).

For 7 years, the Wiesbaden official delivered everything he could lay his hands on to intelligence headquarters in East Berlin's Normannenstrasse. None of the material was classified. Instead, "Hainfels"—which was the official's code name—was charged with collecting small pieces of the mosaic like most of East Berlin's Western operatives. He sent on conference reports, statistics, personnel rosters and telephone directories—all from his own ministry.

Investigations later found that "Hainfels'" material must have been of minimal intelligence value. But East Berlin did not drop its agent even after applications he made to two Bonn ministries were turned down.

In fact, when high-ranking MfS insider Werner Stiller changed sides in the summer of 1979 and revealed the names of dozens of his co-workers active in the West, Erich Ziegenhain was warned in time. He succeeded in escaping to the GDR along with dozens of others betrayed by Stiller.

Of course, Erich Ziegenhain has long since returned to the FRG. Although he was received with all honors in the GDR at first and even personally decorated by Colonel General Markus Wolf, the head of MfS' "main information department" he came to view the time he spent in the GDR as a disappointment in the end.

The encounter with real socialism was sobering and the tender loving care of his hosts lived up to expectations only at the outset. Instead of letting him work on social science issues as promised, they gave him a second-rate university post. He passed the time spinning his wheels on a dissertation topic he was given: "Voluntary social services as a means of intensified exploitation of the working class as exemplified by selected branches of the FRG economy."

Contacts with other MfS veterans from the West were frowned upon. "They are always afraid someone might start a union," Ziegenhain says. Thus, he felt boxed in and spied on to boot. After just 6 months, he started thinking about returning to the West with his family..

After trying for months to dissuade Ziegenhain by resorting to chicanery and shabby treatment, the GDR authorities finally gave in. On 12 May of last year, Ziegenhain surrendered to West German authorities and is now awaiting trial for engaging in intelligence activities.

What is new about this case is that a former agent gained his release to the West by continuing to insist upon it and it is unusual into what a difficult position the Ziegenhain affair finally brought the East German authorities.

The thing is that once the West German embassies in Budapest and Prague as well as the permanent FRG mission in East Berlin had been alerted by Ziegenhain to his efforts to leave the GDR, it was already too late for the preferred solution—a discreet trial and sentencing.

A trial that was public knowledge in the West would have given too much publicity to the rude treatment received by the ex-agent and would have done incalculable harm to the MfS image among presently active and future agents in the West.

And so, Ziegenhain's deportation to the West was probably the most acceptable solution despite the fact that he was bound to make revelations. But there was one other loss of prestige the ministry damaged by Werner Stiller's revelations would inevitably incur. In one way or another, the new case would "do more damage and be of lesser advantage" to the MfS all around, as Ziegenhain's defense counsel Detlev Suessmilch has put it.

Given the Lenten fare agent "Hainfels" was supplying, the trouble the MfS went to on his behalf was downright spectacular. Following a 2-month intelligence course in an East Berlin safe house, he was equipped with picture-book agent's paraphernalia: radio decoding materials, invisible writing accessories, the East Berlin telephone number 558 93 32 to be dialed in an emergency and a brief-case with a secret compartment.

For photographing documents, he was given a Canon super-8 camera set for single exposures. The data transmitted—which the state prosecutor's office says "could easily have been obtained through other means" for the most part—was nonetheless conveyed in a highly conspiratorial manner: the MfS informed him by radio of where to meet the courier "Heinz."

The material was handed over through the exchange of cigarette packs between "Hainfels" and "Heinz." Money was passed in the opposite direction, "Hainfels" being paid DM 500 per month. Starting in the fall of 1974, this was reduced by DM 140, the amount deducted for membership fees in the SED which "Hainfels" had joined in the meantime.

As of 1977, the transfer formalities became a great deal cruder. "Hainfels" was told to put his material in a sand-filled bear can and to drive to the GDR border near the Autobahn to Kiesenbach. Once there, he was to take a secondary road and throw the can out of the car window into a previously designated "landing area" situated between the out-of-the-way villages of Hoenebach and Kleinensee where the edge of the road constitutes the demarcation line for a few hundred meters.

From then on, meetings with couriers took place only for appearance's sake which was a new one for West German investigators. When "Hainfels" set out for international tourist spots like Vienna's Kaerntnerstrasse or Stockholm's Sergelstorg ostensibly to make a contact, then there among the amateur film enthusiasts taking pictures of the sights would invariably be some from East Berlin. They would pay their man no heed and would instead take pictures of the crowds—their only reason for going there at all. By comparing pictures, the MfS men could later tell whether their man was being shadowed.

Going over Ziegenhain's testimony, West German security agents could see that their East Berlin counterparts were not always as well organized—as for instance on 18 January 1979 when a veritable panic broke out at Normannenstrasse upon receipt of news that Stiller had switched sides. Since Stiller did not take original documents but merely copies with him, it was unclear at first just what Western authorities might have learned. As a result, the MfS sounded a frantic retreat for scores of its agents in the West.

As per instructions, many of them had already destroyed their radio equipment and could only be reached by telephone. But telephone calls could be faked and even the password could already have been divulged by Stiller. "This assumption gained weight among the agents," Ziegenhain said, "since the control officers at headquarters did not stick to agreed upon procedures, meaning that they did

not call themselves—because they could not due to the confusion reigning at headquarters. In fact, they were working around the cloak, trying to ascertain, by going through the documents, exactly what damage had been done by Stiller."

In some cases, secretaries and telephone operators made the calls, many of which remained unanswered. Ziegenhain tells of agents who made good on their escape to East Berlin as much as 12 hours earlier whose control officers were still trying to reach them in the West by telephone.

"Hainfels" did not get the message ("beer can") to leave until 1½ weeks after Stiller's defection. The agent took a taxi to the border near Hoenbach and left the FRG the same way the beer cans had. At the "landing area" an MfS reception committee was already waiting for him, complete with ham sandwiches and vodka.

Former Agent's Own Account

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 36 No 2, 11 Jan 82 pp 59, 62, 64-66

Excerpt from Ziegenhain's revelations: "'That's the Last Straw! You Have Insulted the GDR!'—How Ex-Agent Erich Ziegenhain Managed to Obtain from State Security the Exit Permit for FRG"]

[Text] Only a few months after we arrived in the GDR our hopes, such as they were, had disappeared. We had to live a solitary life in Leipzig. Instead of satisfying work and recognition, we got nothing but medals.

Instead of being integrated as a former agent as promised, my control officer Gerhard Jauck from the MfS started criticizing my work and calling the material I had been collecting for years "useless stuff." He told me in words of one syllable: "There is no one in the GDR who will go out of his way on your behalf."

Soon the relationship I had with my MfS associates was damaged beyond repair. The reserved attitude of some of our contacts toward us made it clear that our home was bugged. The MfS seemed to have gotten wind of what we had been secretly planning for some time: we wanted to get back to the West. And as we soon began to feel, these preparations of ours had not gone unnoticed.

One week before Easter 1980 we made our first start, via Hungary. We took all important documents and what clothing we needed along and went by car to the Czech border crossing point at Zinnwald.

But they seemed to be waiting for us there. They immediately closed off the lane we were in and started checking the cars. My wife and the children had to get out but I had to stay inside the car. The border police were looking for something specific, perhaps for my documents or perhaps most of all for the West German money I had held on to until then with which to pay for our escape.

Although I could plainly see that the search had been ordered by Berlin, my last resort was to act like a "V.I.P." I demanded to be connected with MfS headquarters in Berlin. That was an order, I said. The answer to that was that the commanding officer of the border post came out and told me that I had no right to give orders to anyone.

In the meantime, the border police had already found the photo album with our passport pictures and I had no choice but to brash it out. I said to the commanding officer: "You will stop this search immediately! You don't seem to know whom you are dealing with! I happen to have been decorated with the Patriotic Order of Merit, the Battle Medal and a number of other high decorations. I will see to it that charges are brought against you!"

Now he, too, did not know what to do. He ordered the search stopped for the time being and then disappeared. A few minutes later, he returned and said with exquisite politeness that a high-ranking MfS officer from Berlin was already on his way and that there would be no further search until he arrived.

6 hours later, MfS major Hartmut Ritter arrived. He seemed peeved. The MfS had apparently wanted to have us taken into custody without showing its own face—by offering formal proof of our escape attempt at the border. But this plan would not work any longer. For this reason, Ritter dispensed with any further search and instead tried to talk us into returning to Dresden.

At that point, the commanding officer asked: "Comrade, what exactly did you intend to do with these passport pictures in Hungary?" I said to him: "You probably don't know that I come from the FRG. I want to have an FRG passport issued to me in Hungary." Ritter blanched and asked for the passport photos but let us continue on our way.

The trip proved very disappointing. In Budapest, we managed to get to the embassy unobserved but the FRG officials were as helpless as we were. To be sure, the legation counsellor was aware of my case but was unable to offer any concrete help for us to get out.

We had a halting conversation. For fear of a hidden microphone, the diplomat and we exchanged slips of paper instead of talking to each other. In the end, he asked me to come back a few days later.

But we could not risk staying in Budapest much longer. So we left and on the way back tried our luck again at the embassy in Prague. We got into the building unobserved early one morning because the local authorities did not start their surveillance of it until 9 am. But here, too, we got no further than to drop off a request for help.

It became clear to us by then that the key to our getting out lay in the GDR alone.

14 days after my return, I had a crucial conversation with colonel Jauck. I told him that the ministry was guilty of a breach of faith and asked that my family and I be permitted to travel to Yugoslavia unescorted. Jauck said no; it was too late for that.

On 23 April 1980, I informed the colonel by telephone that I just sent the chairman of the council of state a letter asking that I be granted permission to leave the country. There was no way back for me, I said, since I could no longer help support a policy of oppression and exploitation of the GDR population. This was not the socialism the working class had dreamt of but a sad parody of it.

Jauck interrupted me, saying that I should not "risk my neck" in this way. It must have been unpleasant for him no doubt because all outside calls of course are recorded on tape.

On that very day, he came to my Leipzig apartment, accompanied by major Ritter. They explained to me that such petitions to the chairman of the council of state were unlawful. Then, they tried to bluff me by saying that the ministry was quite prepared to let me leave. They would even give us "free conduct" to the border. What would happen after that, they said, I was aware of myself.

But when I put them to the test and said they should go to the border with us immediately and turn us over to the FRG authorities, Jauck reneged. This was not something he could decide on his own, he said. But a day later, a messenger arrived with an invitation for us to come to Berlin: if we did not go, we would never be able to leave the country.

In Berlin, I met with Willi Neumann, a high-ranking MfS official who was a colonel then; with colonel Gerhard Jauck, and two others whom I had not seen before who called themselves "Alfons" and "Otto." They tried in every way to get me to retract my request for permission to leave.

First, I was promised "a large house by the lake" in Berlin and a job with the GDR Academy of Sciences in Berlin. When I did not accept, colonel Neumann jumped up and shouted that I had insulted the ministry and that the statements I had made to Jauck constituted a criminal offense. He then asked me "to retract immediately."

I refused and instead asked to be given a typewriter in order to be able to concretize my supposed insults. Jauck and Neumann left the room; the typewriter was in fact brought in and I was given several hours to write it all down.

The first one to read what I had written was "Alfons" and he got quite angry. Then he said: "We have taken quite a few people out of circulation who said a great deal less than you have." That was the end of the line. We were taken back to Leipzig.

On the following weekend, we drove to Zinnwald once again on the way to Prague just to see whether they would let us go across at all. The same thing happened again: they closed off the lane we were in; the members of my family were taken to a room inside the border control post under guard.

I had to drive my car into a garage where it was searched. I myself was strip-searched; they even x-rayed some food we had along. Then, they forced me to help them take the car apart. They shone flashlights into all hollow spaces and when I asked: "What is it that you are looking for," I was told "don't worry, we will find it." The entire procedure took 5 hours.

At length, the commanding officer came once again and told me that I would henceforth not be permitted to cross the GDR border at all. On the way home, I could see two cars in my rear view mirror following us throughout. From then on, we were shadowed all the time.

2 days later, colonel Neumann and "Alfons" delivered the MfS directorate's decision to us: no permission to leave! We were advised instead to think all further moves over "very carefully" and to consult a GDR lawyer so as not to run afoul of the statute books.

Willi Neumann asked for the names of all those who knew of our intention to go back. "Don't bother, Willi," I said, "there is no way you can make us disappear on the sly. Aside from our relatives, we have informed the appropriate FMC authorities! And I will now start talking it up here all over the place." Neumann's reply was: "If you do that, you will lose your job at the university and then you will starve."

I wrote to Honecker once again and enclosed my party membership book, reiterating that SED policy in no way conformed to my idea of what a socialist party ought to be like. I never received an answer.

At the university, I was still tolerated but was ordered in no uncertain terms not to attend any further meetings or functions of the research faculty. The reason given was that there was a danger of "young party members being infected by the poison of counter-revolution." This meant that I was de facto no longer a member of the research faculty although I continued receiving my salary until the end of February 1981.

In the meantime, surveillance commenced right outside my door. Wherever I went MfS agents were sure to go: on the trolleycar, at the swimming pool, at the barber's, in the market, at the theater—everywhere. They were easily recognized by the almost identical cases they carried, with the walkie-talkie inside.

A few days after I sent back my party book, I packed all my decorations, diplomas, commemorative coins and the like in a shoebox and sent them to the GDR council of ministers. The Patriotic Order of Merit I sent to Honecker. In my accompanying letters, I proposed that the decorations be given to the MfS surveillance branch but that we should at long last be given permission to leave the country.

This made an impact at headquarters. Colonel Janck said to me that this was the last straw—now I had also insulted the GDR, the chairman of the council of ministers and the council itself. Right away, I was picked up and brought to an MfS house in Berlin for a talk.

At first, they tried once more to persuade me to retract my request for permission to leave. I was asked to tell the FMC permanent mission in East Berlin in a letter that we had gone through a "personal depression" but had since gotten over it and now considered "our wish to leave a thing of the past."

I refused—whereupon Janck said that his office would write the letter instead. As I knew, they knew how to copy my handwriting. This conversation—which was held once again in order to intimidate us—was broken off without getting anywhere.

I wrote to Erich Honecker once more but all I got was a return receipt. Then, we decided engage the services of East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel whose specialty is East-West exchanges.

On the way to Berlin, we were already being shadowed by three cars. For the first time, these coercive measures became a danger to life and limb. At an Autobahn parking area, a heavy Volga limousine came at us at high speed, trying to ram us. A risky swerve saved us from harm.

Although other drivers had witnessed the whole scene and gave vent to their feelings by gesticulating and blowing their horn, the Volga tried once more to force us onto the median strip. It was not until another car came up close, protesting by blowing its horn and flashing its lights, that the Volga finally drove off at high speed.

We parked our car in the center of East Berlin and took the subway and the elevated to Dr Vogel's office, escorted by five MfS agents. Our visit did not even last one minute. Right at the front door, we were told by a lady that nothing could be done for us—and we had not even had a chance to say why we had come. She shut the door and never opened it again.

Over the next few months, I sent our requests to leave to a wide variety of GDR officials—to the interior minister; to the president of the Volkskammer; to the national front; to the committee for human rights and the league for the United Nations. And once every 4 weeks, I sent a letter to Honecker again. In these letters, we cited the basic treaty, the Helsinki final act and the UN human rights declaration. In all, we submitted 23 such requests.

In the meantime, the pressure from MfS surveillance kept on growing. We got the impression that they knew perfectly well where we wanted to go—by bugging our apartment. Even on an outing by car, those assigned to watch us would often know our destination in advance because they would not start surveillance in such cases until shortly before we got there.

Some times there were two cars with two men each; sometimes there were three, four or even five cars with four men each. This type of psychological terror was applied particularly whenever we went to East Berlin because they assumed we would be visiting the FRG permanent mission. Colonel Janok had made a point of warning me about this. "If you go in there," he said, "that will have serious consequences. Then even I will not be able to protect you from the state prosecutor."

Just the same, we went there often enough. On the way, we were followed by up to five cars and when we parked ours a few hundred meters from the mission, we were escorted right up to the door of the mission by a sizable contingent.

Janok reiterated his threat and when we still went to East Berlin the MfS went into action, using the Volga once again. Anyone familiar with the GDR Autobahns knows that one sometimes runs into no traffic at all for miles. They took advantage of just such a situation.

When there was no car to be seen, a Volga suddenly came up behind me. Then it came alongside and tried to force me onto the median strip. I had a difficult time staying in my lane. The Volga finally gave up when two trucks passed each other behind us and more and more passenger cars started coming.

In some instances, surveillance took on ridiculous proportions. They followed me right into public toilets. On 17 January 1981, I quit my job at the Leipzig Karl-Marx-University on my own in order to force the GDR authorities' hand. Work is compulsory in the GDR. Refusing to work—and my action could be construed as such—is a punishable offense.

At the same time, I wrote a letter to Erich Mielke, the minister for state security, which said in part: "...I will meet you halfway and as a sort of final service on behalf of the GDR will perform spectacular acts so that you can have me arrested and will be justified at least to a certain extent in asking for a fair exchange price from the appropriate FRG authorities! If you are not interested in such acts, then arrange our release immediately!"

I handcarried this letter to the ministry in Normannenstrasse in East Berlin, escorted by five MfS agents from Leipzig right up to the door.

I suppose that this particular move finally led to the approval of our request. At any rate, this was the beginning of the last act. On Wednesday, 1 April 1981, at 7 am our doorbell rang. There were two men outside, presenting their MfS identification cards. "We are under orders to bring you to Berlin immediately!" they said. Escorting by four people, my wife and I were taken to an interrogation center in East Berlin.

We were interrogated separately. When I protested, my guards took away my belt, my shoelaces and personal belongings. They were members of a "special department," they said, under orders from the minister to "review our case from A to Z once more." If I admitted having worked for Western intelligence organizations and would reveal what I had turned over to them thus far, it would perhaps be possible to arrange for our release to the FRG.

Again and again, the interrogators would leave the room for some time and leave the monosyllabic guards behind. They only talked to me when I wanted to stand up. Then they told me to sit down again. If I wanted to go to the toilet, the corridor outside was first secured by several men. That is the way it went until after midnight when they ordered me to lie down on a couch. But there was no chance of getting any sleep. One of them had the radio on, listening to music and the other constantly played a flashlight on me.

On the next morning, they continued, but by noon they gave up. I did not hear from my interrogators again until that evening. One of them, whom they had addressed as "comrade colonel" came in by himself and said to my surprise: "I think everything has been cleared up now. The minister will probably permit you to leave this very evening."

Comrade colonel had some more information for me: the children were just then being brought to Berlin; our furniture could stay in Leipzig for a while. And as for the mode of transportation, he said: "We always have a few confiscated automobiles with Western license plates standing around. All you have to do is get in and drive off."

But unfortunately, things did not work out quite as smoothly as that. As I was about to leave, the colonel asked me: "Why do you really want to leave?" When I told him that I was afraid I would be "lined up against the wall along with you for all you have done" one day, he mumbled something about "polemics" and left the room. 15 minutes later, he came back and said the minister had thought the matter over—I would not be permitted to leave for the time being after all.

We went back to Leipzig and did not hear from Mielke's ministry until 5 weeks later. Now they had really made their decision—our departure was set for 12 May.

We were forced to give our word to remain silent and were told not to make any of our experiences about the GDR and the time with MFS public. I was warned that the ministry would find ways of shutting me up, if I did not comply.

Once again it was the colonel who gave me some parting advice: "You will see how much good this will do you!" he said. "I can tell you right now that you will never get a decent job in the FRG again. But then there will be no way back!"

A few days later, we had our exit visas in hand.

9478
CSO: 2300/113

CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 11-13 Dec 81 p 4

[Interview with Prof Dr Habilitatus Jan Malinowski, sociologist and member of PZPR Central Committee, by Jacek Bukowski: "Game for a Large Stake"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] You are a sociologist, and that is why I am asking about our society. Were you surprised at how much change there was in the period following August?

[Answer] I was primarily surprised by the fact that such tremendous stores of public initiative were released after August. This is somewhat of a phenomenon. Why? Because it is something exceptional in Polish society which, although severely tested by fate throughout its history--here I am thinking of postwar history, so many times disappointed and losing faith in any chance of improvement, held in the grip of a melancholy stupor, especially evident toward the end of the 1970's--still managed to recover from all adversities and once again take up the fight for a life of dignity and for its own sense of values.

Let us call on history once again, although this has become an overused tactic. Several times, in 1956, 1970 and 1976, the working class, constituting a fundamental power in society, managed to play the role of a subject or of a feudal lord (or dramatically claiming this role), but the sociopolitical scenario in all of these years was identical. An increase in tension, the outbreak of social dissatisfaction, a change in the party (after 1976), a solemn declaration of improvement in the situation, short-term improvement, and again a period of growing tension. Every previous upsurge of the working class ended sooner or later with its defeat. Therefore it seems that the discouragement and lack of confidence was already so strong that another new upsurge would be the greatest act of despair and frustration, and would not entail so much initiative, enthusiasm and will to act over a prolonged period.

[Question] Maybe it was simply that conclusions were finally drawn from the previous defeats.

[Answer] So it seems. After August the working class for the first time assumed an institutional nature in its activity. The workers did not limit themselves to saying what oppressed them and what they considered bad, but brought into being a guarantor of their claims. "Solidarnosc" was created by them as a socio-occupational movement of the working class. And this is a great novelty in our social structure.

Never before in the history of outbreaks of social dissatisfaction did an entire society embrace it on such a broad scale and so thoroughly. Actually what happened in the working class also had its counterparts in other classes and levels of society (appearing later and sometimes in a different form). Let us look at the peasants, at what is happening in the countryside, a great popular movement which is also radically changing the appearance of the countryside. The same thing is going on in the townspeople, and the intelligentsia is living through its renaissance. If we recall the social tensions of recent years, we may say in a general way that one class or level protested, while the others were indifferent, and it happened that large social groups opposed one another. Then it can be stated that everything happening in our country and society since 1980 is not the activity of one social class. Now all of society is participating.

[Question] What is the most important initiative?

[Answer] It is the rebirth of the idea of self-government, which was squelched after 1956. I would like to say that it is not possible, that we cannot shake confidence in this idea because, if this great initiative which is, so to speak, the only hope, fails, I do not know what society will be faced with, what kind of bid....But on the other hand it is necessary to be cautious because self-government as a matter of fact has never been sufficiently tested, one could say, as a good prescription for improvement in social and economic life. So we are all running a risk here and "Solidarnosc", if this experiment does not succeed, is risking much, much more than the party and government.

However, I believe that the idea of self-government is the only way to preserve social initiative. It is the antidote for the fatigue of society resulting from the many continuous years of directives and orders.

[Question] Everything we are talking about is taking place in the major social structures. Let's go lower.

[Answer] Renewal, if I can use this already very overworked term, has reached into every field of social life. Often we simply do not recognize this in word or fancy, and there may even be many things which we do not

connect with the processes of renewal. Just take, for example, the wave of rebellion which has spread through our penal institutions. If we leave aside the socially unjustified extreme cases which arise in any situation, these revolts by prisoners are also a symptom of the fact that legislation and law and order in Poland require renewal. A great deal has already been done in this respect, but obviously not everything. The processes of convalescence, for the purpose of a return to normal, honest rules of social functioning, have embraced all fields of life. Let me refer to the higher school system, where I believe that a return to self-government in schools is a serious matter which will bear splendid fruit after a few years, unless it is squandered. There should be a new look at the teaching of our native language and the history of Poland. All of these matters must be examined synthetically. Tuwin wrote somewhere that the individual trees are seen, but that the forest is not seen. It is precisely this forest which must be examined. Poland today is a completely different country than before August, and society is completely different.

[Question] But at the same time take a look at the exhausted people in lines, striving with difficulty to remain on the level of civilized existence. Sitting here in armchairs, detached for a time from the concerns of life, we can be perfectly satisfied with, for example, an "intellectual" renewal. We can be happy that, thanks to the worker uprising last year, we can print Milosz, revive history and visit art premieres which could not have been posted before August, and we can be happy about the law on censorship. All of this is true, but, for example, to a hard-working textile worker, who cannot buy a bit of meat, is Milosz necessary, or the uncensored columns of Kisiel in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY...?

[Answer] Actually there are still areas of public life where we are not achieving success. Quite the opposite. Are they not concealing the positive effects? I believe, and I would like to emphasize this, that economic collapse would be waiting for us anyway, but that we would approach it at a faster rate, and that, if it were not for August, we would feel it much more painfully. I say painfully because, if the same economic collapse occurred without renewal in other fields of life, nobody would be able to arouse any spark of initiative from society, and not even any great social discipline, patience and above all sense of responsibility. I think that we shall unfortunately have the opportunity of seeing how the people of other socialist countries deal with economic crisis without "Solidarnosc" and without this, generally speaking, spiritual and intellectual renewal.

In addition I want to call attention to the fact that even those who demand a return to the previous status quo, and there are quite a few of them, do not advance arguments that things are bad because of "Solidarnosc" and so forth. We must ask the question of whether a situation is possible where the people brush all renewal aside because of the specter of an empty pot. I think that such a possibility would come into play only if there were an alternative program stating: an end to renewal, an end to

developed democracy, an end to self-government, and in exchange filled shelves. Then the people would really be facing a great dilemma. But, to speak frankly, we are not threatened by such a dilemma because there can be no such program.

[Question] Let us return again to a higher level of solutions, to alternative programs and to the problem of authority. Don't you think that the authority in our country finds itself in a peculiar situation based on the fact that it sees the need for change but, at the same time, sees that every change undermines its situation since its own cause needs improvement.

[Answer] The tragedy of authority is based on the fact that the canons of ideology reveal that a society can be governed only by one party and that this party must be self-critical at the same time. It is said that it is the guiding force of the nation, but this means that it accepts full responsibility for leading the country into an abyss. At the same time, precisely as the guiding force, it wants to extract the nation from this abyss. Thus we have a situation where we ourselves, who have broken the watch, now want to repair it and in addition say what time it is. Such a situation cannot continue in society, and so a need arises to create a new formula for cooperation with other social forces. Obviously there is still the question of the predominant role of the party within the framework of this cooperation, but this predominant role cannot be the result of regulation, but must result from what it offers society, from the quality of the program and from the degree of its public acceptance. We cannot present the matter in such a way that the party is the only social force which can see better, further and wiser. No one believes in this anymore.

[Question] The Front of National Accord can see better, further and wiser....

[Answer] Yes, but at present this is a slogan derived from considerations that it is only possible to solve the essential matters of Poland on the basis of the fundamental social forces, namely the party, the Church and "Solidarnosc". The idea of the Front of Accord has been broached, but has not yet taken on any substance. Hope has been aroused, but at the same time it is necessary to figure out what this slogan means. These are the forces which must come to an understanding. This leads to the question of an understanding in which matter? Obviously it can generally be said that the country should be saved. But this leads to the question of the method of saving it. The next question is the cost, the concessions to be made at whose expense for this understanding. Who loses and who gains in this understanding? These are questions which cannot be evaded and which must be asked in giving substance to the idea of a national understanding. Obviously, I repeat, this is a grave matter where the Homeland is in danger, but let us not have any illusions, it is also a great political matter. It is a game for great stakes for the party and for "Solidarnosc". I am omitting the Church from this, since it stands somewhat above the dispute, not as a political force but as a moral force.

[Question] Since at present we do not know anything concrete, we must act as futurologists....

[Answer] It is necessary to determine the "zones of influence" of each of the partners, the extent of their participation in decisions submitted to society, and to proceed to mutual concessions, because an approach to an understanding proceeds from a list of one's own affairs to settlement. At the same time life is rushing forward. It is not enough for understanding to be required in economic and self-government matters, but elections for people's councils are also approaching on the lower level and concomitantly such matters as the division of areas and electoral law. Elections to the Sejm are also coming up.

[Question] And at the same time we have a complex situation in each of the partners....

[Answer] The Church, which does not have any extremes nor any right or left wings, is in the best position. The party and "Solidarnosc" will have divisions toward the Front of National Accord. After all, these are not internally uniform organizations of unanimous opinion. At this time and for the situation in which we find ourselves, I think that there is a strong demand for the development of political thought which is defined by the term "center".

[Question] There are different concepts in the Front of National Accord. One of them favors a factual distribution of the base of authority, while another supports a formula for social consultation. What is your opinion in this matter?

[Answer] I do not acknowledge that the consultation formula would be accepted. This would not be said about experiences with consultation, and it must be stated that it is currently in its heyday. Social consultation is everything which is written in the newspapers, since we have a tremendous range of opinions from very catholic to very red. Leaflets are also a kind of form of consultation. All discussions between the government and "Solidarnosc" are also consultations. So I would tend more toward a concept of expanding the base of authority. Today social acceptance is found only by decisions or programs which are spearheaded by people or groups of people enjoying social trust. Today no single force can acquire trust.

[Question] I must ask you one last question. You are a member of the Central Committee of the party and at the same time a member of "Solidarnosc". Did you not share in the decisions of your comrades in the Central Committee who, at the Fourth Plenary Session, decided on limiting membership to only one organization?

[Answer] The party is passing through a process of self-identification, and thus levies a requirement of declaration for one of the sides. I treat "Solidarnosc" as a trade union, and when I was in the old unions no one ever required a declaration from me of the type which is sometimes made today. I understand that as a member of the party I must take either a critical or an approving attitude toward those activities of "Solidarnosc" which are interpreted as political activities. But in the case of party activity I face this same problem of identification. I cannot approve everything, but I still remain a member of it.

I also want to call attention to another matter. We are too eager to treat "Solidarnosc" and the people belonging to it as something absolutely new. Still the 9.5 million members of "Solidarnosc" were members of former unions. "Solidarnosc" somehow inherited them with all of their opinions and attitudes. Now "Solidarnosc" is reproached for political activity. Still, political thought was one of the canons of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ), and they said that trade unions are a school of government and so forth. Perhaps these principles were only on paper in the former unions, but they have come to life in the new union. This is a positive result of renewal.

5806
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MILITARY ACTIVITIES UNDER MARTIAL LAW REPORTED

Actions of Various Units

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Dec 81 pp 1, 5

[Article: "Until There is Peace and an Atmosphere of Honest Work"]

[Text] The third week of the state of martial law and also the final days of 1981, which was such a difficult year for us... These are important days, in which the dedication and commitment of the working people is a yardstick in the restoration of normality to life. And these are important days also for the soldiers of the Polish Army, to whom stabilization of living conditions will bring a return to the home garrison, the family, normal service life and work.

Today they still stand at their combat posts, supporting the actions of the forces of order in restoring law, order and safety, and giving assistance to city and local authorities. They will remain at these posts until peace returns to our towns and villages, until an atmosphere of hard, honest work prevails.

On Sentry Duty and in the Combat Vehicles Motor Pool

Many soldiers in the Silesian Military District, just as those in other military districts and branches of the armed forces, perform combat duty tours in various places, often far from their home garrisons. During a state of martial law, soldiers guard important state installations, patrol city streets, and protect regions where subunits are concentrated.

Recently I happened upon the region where the 29th tank regiment was stationed. In a valley surrounded by a dense forest, an air of military order and calm prevailed. It was afternoon. In several specially prepared field dayrooms most of the soldiers watched a television program. Some reads books and newspapers. A program of special greetings was being broadcast on the field radio to those who had distinguished themselves during the past days of martial law.

I became interested in those soldiers who were serving at outlying posts or who were repairing equipment. At the post farthest away from the region of concentration,

combat assignments were being performed by two officer cadets of the SPR [Reserve Officer Cadet School], senior cadet corporal Boguslaw Lasota and senior cadet corporal Jan Lombara. Although I was accompanied by the unit's political officer, the password required of all soldiers in this region had to be given.

--Yesterday we did not even let the unit commander in without the password when he returned from an inspection of the mobile posts, officer cadet Lombara said. This is, of course, a state of martial law, and anyway, on sentry duty the same rules of conduct apply to everyone.

Not far from the post, in a region where repairmen are concentrated, soldiers are working on a "Star 66" standing on the road. Driver-sergeant Wieslaw Kusiak is screwing on an oil pan, and private Kazimierz Gaborek, a repairman from master sergeant Jan Ostach's subunit, is assembling a set of tools in the repair shop.

--What is wrong with the vehicle? -- I ask the driver. Yesterday, he explains, while driving, the wedge in the oil pump snapped. Under normal conditions I would have waited with the repairs. But this is a state of martial law and damaged equipment must be repaired immediately.

Master sergeant Edward Gardziejczyk's subordinates are also getting ready to work. They will change a wheel that tightens the tank caterpillar, a subassembly section of the heater pump and the speedometer cable.

A Day with the Aircraft Technicians

An air unit. The hour is 5:45. Reveille has sounded. Everywhere the usual morning bustle. The next group of sentries leaves for their posts. There are also many lights burning in the windows of the military housing settlement. The next air day has begun...

Despite the fact that the situation in the country is special, that this is already the third week of martial law, life in the unit goes on in an almost normal manner. But in the tasks performed daily there are also some characteristic signs which make the present days different from those even a month ago. The first and basic sign is without a doubt the increased involvement, the greater than usual generosity of the soldiers in the accomplishment of undertakings. This pertains both to those who perform special assignments outside the area of the unit and to those who are here everyday, on the staff, in the subunits, in the shops, on the airfield, on every other duty post. It is in this way that they show their support for the actions taken by the Military Council of National Salvation. Because they were always of the opinion, which they even now assert, that declarations alone, however beautifully worded, are not enough, and that most important of all is the everyday work of each and everyone. This is what Poland needs the most, always and now especially, if the overcoming of the present, very painful crisis, is to become a reality. And it must become that reality, they emphasize. Our soldierly duties, they add, are explicitly defined. We are making every effort to fulfill them as best we can, and all of us here are counting on the fact that everything that the slogan "good work" embodies will shortly become a reality in the entire country.

According to the December plan and training program, today and tomorrow was supposed to be an "Engineering Day" in the unit. Specific assignments were prepared for all personnel groups and for all services and sections. As usual, the largest groups are in the airfield region, for there the work of the technical engineering staff is concentrated. Some of the machines are fully combat-ready, ready to start at any moment. Groups of technicians and mechanics bustle around others. Despite the cold gusts of wind across the airfield, despite the severe cold which causes the hands to be numb, the individual tasks are being performed efficiently and in good time.

In the hangar a group of soldiers under the command of Lt Kazimierz Kiszka is changing an engine in one of the combat machines. Others, under the direction of Capt Piotr Lochowski are checking the efficiency of the anti-icing installation. Among those working in the hangar are senior staff sergeant Zygmunt Pekal, senior staff sergeant Edward Kucharski, cadet sergeant Andrzej Strozyk and corporal Jerry Bankowski. The other also have plenty to do, including the representatives of the POL [petroleum, oil, lubricants] service, who are making an indispensable inspection of the aviation fuel from the standpoint of potential pollutants. Some pilots, including the following officers: Krzysztof Budzynowski, Zbigniew Navrocki, Tadeusz Mroz, Zbigniew Dziubicki and Krzysztof Chrostek, are assisting their "ground" colleagues. They support the technicians and mechanics in the repair activities and clear the area of snow.

Intensive work is also going on in the motor pool. We posted the assignments yesterday, Capt Wieslaw Kuras informs us. Groups of soldiers are gathered around selected delivery vehicles, gasoline pumps, equipment vans and others. Included are those in the leading group, the platoon commander Sgt Miroslaw Grzelak, mechanic Sr Sgt Andrzej Furman and driver Sr Sgt Ireneusz Borkowski. They are checking the fuel and brake systems, the lights, and the dashboard indicators. The quality and amount of fluid in the individual systems must be checked in case it should be necessary to add brake fluid.

The weather and local conditions under which the drivers must perform their tasks are often very difficult, therefore the inspections that are now being made are extremely important and are directly related to traffic safety on the winter roads. No margin for error is permissible. Every technical check must be very thorough, everything must be done very accurately.

It is after two o'clock. In several minutes it will be time to eat. After intensive work, several hours spent in the frosty weather, a hot meal will taste good to everyone. Then some soldiers will return home to their families. But only some, because many of them have afternoon, evening and night duty. As usual.

They Assist, Control and Work

Soldiers assigned to railway and road units perform many important tasks every single day during a state of martial law. In controlling and patrolling the railway lines, roads, stations and engineers' communication buildings, by their energetic and effective actions they ensure the security of the transport, restore order and assist in the efficient transloading and timely expediting of goods.

The military railwaymen and roadmen continuously and directly participate in the transloading of goods at the border stations, as, for example, in Malaszewicze, where every day they assist the railway men in this difficult task. Officer Wojciech Goralski's roadmen at the "Warszawa" airport, transloaded 20 tons of gifts sent by air from the USSR to Poland.

At the Lukow railroad station a patrol of soldiers from the Warsaw Military District railway unit assisted a Polish State Railroads (PKP) woman cashier, who was beaten up by Jan Celinski, who was intoxicated. When the soldiers intervened, he resisted and struck one of them in the face. After being subdued, he was taken to the police station. He will be dealt with by the courts.

Aside from such isolated incidents, there is no lack of friendliness and sincerity on the part of the people towards the soldiers in their difficult service on the tracks and roads. Railwaymen and roadmen in military uniforms obtained gifts from the PKP--sweets. They voluntarily decided to give these Christmas presents to the Children's Homes in Miedzyrzec and Biala Podlaska.

And still another example of the military roadmen's generosity. After martial law went into effect, it was necessary to provide heat for the soldiers patrolling the icy streets at night. There were not enough coke heaters. The men under Sr Sgt Andrzej Duda were given the assignment of making heaters. Several specialists, soldiers and civilian workers, worked for 48 hours without a break to produce the coke heaters. The following soldiers took part in this work: Sr Cpl Andrzej Kwiecien, PFC Antoni Zawisza, PFC Zbigniew Ziobro and PFC Michal Marek. Three civilian workers, Tadeusz Woloszyn, Bogdan Cieslak and Piotr Zych, also worked on this job. The hands of the soldiers at their posts in Warsaw are being warmed by the heaters made by these roadmen.

The Difficult Job of the Quartermaster Service

The quartermaster service is performing a very difficult task under field conditions, and this includes the food service. It works around-the-clock. It provides breakfasts, lunches and dinners, and has hot coffee available all the time. During the night it prepares a snack for the soldiers standing on guard.

Major Lucjan Cieslak from the Silesian Military District, instructed his subordinates to take from the winter stockroom everything necessary to feed the soldiers. There was a risk that the farm products would freeze. But thanks to the dedication of such people as cadet Wladyslaw Mrugala, Sr Sgt Julian Jakubowski, and platoon officer cadet Marian Olejniczuk, everything was done so that nothing would be wasted.

Services Performed

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Dec 81 pp 1, 6

[Article: "So That Society May Live and Work in Peace"; On the Combat Posts]

[Text] In these difficult and also critical days for our nation, a very great responsibility has rested on the shoulders of people in military uniforms. The present situation has given them much

greater duties than it has given the ordinary citizen. The 24-hour duties, the many hours of service under all, even the most difficult, conditions, and the time still necessary for them to complete their school lessons, makes up their daily schedules. There is no time left for a deserved rest, and for a meeting with loved ones.

We are all counting the days of martial law. We are waiting for the day when life and work will be normal again. That is why we listen with interest to every communiqué on the situation in the country, on how the workforces are working. We received the information that the action in the "Piast" mine had ended with great relief. This is still one more example of stabilization in the country--a time for more peaceful work and military duty.

Praise for Exemplary Service

Without interruption, day and night, soldiers from the Silesian Military District keep order in the cities, guard important buildings, and take part in local military operations. They also help the inhabitants of the cities and villages, mitigating the effects of winter.

Everyday on the streets of Wroclaw many mixed military-militia patrols are seen. Most of those patrolling are cadets of the Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School. During the past period the cadet patrols have frequently assisted in the apprehension of those who were violating public law and order and who were sought by the police. One night in December while patrolling in the area of Gliniana Street, Sr Sgt of the Citizens Militia Wiktor Bernatek, Pvt Officer Cadet Stanislaw Majcher, Pvt Officer Cadet Wojciech Padlo and Pvt Officer Cadet Bogdan Pawlowski noticed a door that had been forced in a liquor store. By following fresh tracks in the snow, they quickly found the burglars who were hauling the stolen loot on a sled. While they were being apprehended, one of them attacked a member of the patrol and attempted to grab his gun. The attacker was subdued, the burglars were taken to the police station and the loot from the burglary was secured. It turned out that the burglars stole alcoholic beverages from the store valued at a total sum of about 45,000 zlotys. The prosecutor's office in the Silesian Military District will very shortly deal with the matter of the burglary of the liquor store and the attempt to assault the soldier on patrol.

Aside from a few exceptions, the relationship of the people of Lower Silesia to the soldiers preserving order is friendly. This is shown by the fact that packages are sent to the soldiers. There are even those who allocate part of their pension to presents for the soldiers.

This is what a dentist from Zarow in the Walbrzych voivodship, Edmund Ulaszewski, did. He gave 5,000 zlotys for a soldier on duty during the past holidays. This distinction fell to Adam Chwastyk, a Sr Sgt Engr. He accepted this heartfelt gift of gratitude for difficult military service and gave it to a more needy person, a ward of the State Children's House in Lubninow, 12-year old Ania Wojtczak. The entire sum was deposited to a housing account in the General Savings Bank, which was presented to her during a Christmas party.

It should be added that Cpl Jan Migon, Cpl Robert Pasiak, Sr Sgt Piotr Sobon and other soldiers from Lt Zdzislaw Burawski's subunit purchased small gifts and sweets from their modest funds and gave them to the remaining wards of the Children's Home mentioned.

Flight Day

All day yesterday was designated for preparations. Today, in accordance with the December training program, there will be flights. The plan provided for perfecting of combat skills of the flight personnel over the firing range: bombing and shooting, singly and in group formation.

But the winter weather did not allow for this type of training, the limited visibility constituting a safety threat. It was therefore decided that another variant of training would be applied. The flights will take place elsewhere, under day-night, difficult conditions.

In the afternoon a "slit" [plane], with the unit commander and pilot, Capt Jerzy Malyszka, returned from the "weather fly-around". The preflight assembly has ended. The airplanes leave, one after another, in a thunderous roar of engines over the airfield. These are the most modern planes, faster than sound, the tilt-wing aircraft. Trailing fire, Lt Col Stanislaw Walczak's supersonic plane steeply ascends. Walczak is one of the first in the country who trained on this particular type of aircraft. His assignment, the same as for the others: dog fights and interception. Those in the air maintain constant radio contact with the command position. Somewhere from above the clouds, pilot Maj Stanislaw Adamiec and pilot Lt Andrzej Pawul report their positions. The dialogue with the ground is continuous.

A group of technicians and mechanics stand near the jet planes awaiting their turn. They also appear immediately at all planes as they return from the air. They must be refueled, rearmed and checked. Their combat readiness must be reconstituted. Today, just as every day, they were the first ones here. As usual also, they will be the last to return to their homes and to the warm military barracks. It cannot be otherwise, because everything has to be perfect. This is the aviation duty performed by Capt Stanislaw Maj. Lt Wojciech Szajnar, Sgt Jerzy Lauer, Cpl Leszek Sopula, Pvt Zbigniew Dziewonski, and many others.

From yesterday's radio and television reports and from today's newspapers, they learned that the dangerous situation in the "Piast" mine had passed. It is good that it ended as it did, they say, without unnecessary tragedy. We sighed with relief. Somehow it is easier to work today. They express the joint belief that there will be no tragedies in the future, that national agreement will become a fact. That is what the Military Council for National Salvation is working towards, so they support the Council and they support General Jaruzelski, a soldier, like themselves.

Winter dusk falls over the airfield. The flights continue. When they end, a silent night will fall. But for many it will not mean rest or meeting with wife or children. Today the men from pilot officers Stanislaw Adamiec and Bogdan Likus' unit will stay at the airfield. The next turn of combat duty will begin.

A combat watch is taking place on the Baltic. Far from their bases, naval units, assigned to this responsible duty, are measuring off the lines of ships' watches.

This year's winter voyages are difficult not only because of the gusty and icy weather, the constant struggle with the chunks of ice accumulating on the decks, on the frequently stormy seas, on the limited visibility due to dense blizzards and fog... The events occurring in our country have meant that there has been a large increase in the interest abroad in Polish affairs, including those that pertain to problems of defense. The NATO radio-electronic reconnaissance ships have become active in their spy operations, the frequency of flights by foreign planes over the Baltic Sea has increased, planes that are equipped for intelligence-gathering tasks.

The sea and air forces are working together in performing their duties, including those duties directly related with the defense of our sea lanes against the penetration of snoopy "visitors". The close coordination of actions by ships and by naval aircraft pertains also to those performed within territorial waters that relate to martial law. Rescue-combat duty is performed by both the ship's fleet as well as the air naval fleet.

Every day, special duties are performed with dedication by the subordinates of Lt Comdr pilot Wladyslaw Spodziej. In the last training year their unit was designated the top unit in the naval armed forces. The following are performing exemplary service in rescue, liaison and other tasks: Lt Comdr pilot Zdzislaw Trojanowicz, at present the best piston-engine plane pilot in the Naval Air Force; Lt Comdr pilot Jozef Kuczmarski; Lt Comdr pilot Lucjan Zawislak; Navy Lt pilot Wojciech Kurzynski; and Navy Lt pilot Adam Redlicki.

The engineering staff, including Comdr Ludwik Antosz and navy officer cadet Stanislaw Gwozdzik, have contributed greatly to maintaining high combat-readiness and ensuring regular and effective training. Co-responsibility for the unit's leading position in the competition belongs also to Lt Comdr Stanislaw Olejkowicz, Sr Bosun Marian Maj, and Sr Bosun Antoni Aleksiejczyk.

At the Stations, On The Roads and On the Tracks

The railroadmen and roadmen in soldier's uniforms fulfill their responsible duty on combat posts in guarding and protecting assigned roads, junctions and transport buildings. They watch over the order and discipline of railroad transport, the timely unloading of goods, the maintenance of traffic continuity and the adequate protection of property transported by rail and roads.

Soldiers from the Warsaw Military District transport unit, in fulfilling their assignment in the area of the Malaszewicze border station, on December 27 and 28, transloaded 5,000 tons of goods coming from the USSR, including cereals, meat and rice. Of course, the total amount of goods coming to Malaszewicze and transloaded at this time was much greater.

The increasing number of soldiers applying for party membership is an expression of support of the military groups of transport units for the Military Council for National Salvation's program. Recently, for example, cadet Sgt Marek Ucieja of the Reserve Officer Cadet School, was accepted in the railroad unit of the Pomeranian Military District. Several other candidates are being examined.

On the evening of December 27th in Minsk Mazowiecki, a group of several young trouble-makers surrounded Cpl Andrzej Dziugiel, driver in a Warsaw Military District road unit, as he was standing beside his official vehicle. Threatening to use force, the hooligans tried to grab the noncommissioned officer's gun. The corporal was not frightened by the threats and aggressiveness: he cocked his pistol and prepared to repel the attackers. Because of his firm position, the attackers dispersed into the falling darkness.

For Safer Streets

Martial law, despite many hardships, has greatly improved safety on the streets and in the transport means, as city and town dwellers state. The presence of militia and military patrols has paralyzed the criminal activities of those who took advantage of the existing chaos and demoralization.

This does not mean that crime has been eliminated and that the fear against punishment has paralyzed the activity of persons who have become accustomed to run rife on the streets. Robberies are still occurring, but less frequently. Here are a few examples from the Warsaw area:

Recently at 2 am a patrol made up of Jr Cadet Zygmunt Jarczalski and Citizens Militia Cpl A. Pagorek stopped three men carrying loot. It developed that they were responsible for three burglaries in summer homes in the Konstancin-Jeziorna area, stealing properties valued at about 500,000 zlotys.

On December 25th at 4 pm soldiers from the Polish Army Ceremonial Company caught two men who tried to steal a sheepskin coat from citizen Wojciech R. The assailants were turned over to the police.

On December 26th at 3:40 am soldiers on patrol caught Zbigniew Baginski, who, along with a buddy, broke into a drugstore on 11 November Street.

Good work was also done by soldiers patrolling who foiled an attack on a man. Wieslaw Drobina and Henryk Deski, unemployed, tried to steal a sheepskin jacket and money. Caught in flight they were turned over to the prosecutor who handles such matters according to emergency procedures.

9295
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POLISH SCOUT UNION COMMANDER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw TRYBUNA MAZOWIECKA in Polish 3 Dec 81 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, supreme commander of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP], by Barbara Pokorska]

[Text] [Question] Eight months have passed since the Seventh ZHP Congress, which was considered conservative by some and too radical by others. Judging from the fact of the emergence of other organizations--at least "scouting" in the name--the congress has probably not fulfilled the expectations of the rank and file. The Polish Scout Movement in Grozow is one such example...

[Answer] If only everybody knew the name of the person who had inspired this movement.... Its founders took their inspiration from Henryk Glass, the same one who during the Nazi occupation was a cofounder of the so-called "Polish Districts" which opposed the distinguished "Gray Ranks" [wartime code name for ZHP]. This organization is rather small at this point; it has just a few instructors...

[Question] ...Which cannot be said about the Independent Scout Movement [NRH], based on the Zawisza Circle of Scout Instructors in Lublin. It has been already joined by two Warsaw troops, and others are joining in from other Polish regions.

[Answer] To be exact, this movement came out of the ZHP, but it was based on negation of our authorities and of the processes taking place in our union. This movement is a fact, and facts must be respected, but not necessarily fought against. Although we differ in our views on many matters, such as the attitude of a scout organization toward the party and religion, there are many things that unite us; therefore, there is always hope for agreement and conciliation.

[Question] The documents of this movement show that it does not approve of the statute, approved by the Seventh ZHP Congress, that is, the statute which does not clearly state that the union is a fully apolitical and independent organization.

[Answer] We do not exist in a political vacuum, after all. Scouting has always responded to defined social and political needs. Our 70-year history contains literally coded service to the society, fatherland, and state, and our statute--so criticized by some--has tolerance spelled out as well. As a multigeneration

organization we have members of different views and ideology. We do not forbid anybody to go to a mass as our summer action this year clearly shows. Whatever we do is bad, so now we are accused of not organizing religious life for our members. Let me reiterate, we are an organization which does not put barriers before members who wish to practice. If we want to educate in the spirit of humanism and respect for a man and his beliefs, if we say that we are a union open to everybody, including nonbelievers—we must remain a secular organization. This does not mean an antireligious one as is claimed sometimes.

[Question] You mentioned tolerance. It probably means more than just a world view...

[Answer] But of course. That is why there is a place in our union for program-method-oriented movements. Among them are the Andrzej Malkowski Circles of Scout Instructors [KIHAM], united in the KIHAM Agreement, as well as the "Future of Scouting" movement, focusing its activities on older scouts. New movements of specific characteristics and interests are being formed now and will be created in the future. The essence of these social movements lies in the fact that they are created by people who have something in common and who want to achieve something together. It is important that they operate within the ZHP, that they are the driving force behind the changes occurring in the union as well as the makers of good scouting education even though sometimes our views on the organization differ. Thus, as can be seen, the renewal of scouting can take place within the ZHP itself.

[Question] Andrzej Janowski is of a different opinion; he can see no reason to modify the ZHP. In KULTURA, No 24, he bluntly called for "dispersing" the union and restoration of scouting by creating it anew through taking away the elements from the ZHP...

[Answer] Is it really necessary to destroy the old to create something new? It is possible and necessary to reconstruct the best values on the laid foundations such as the 70-year history of scouting with its rich traditions. But this requires time and patience. The ZHP Congress did not resolve all of the problems, because it could not do it. Nor did it close the discussion among instructors which ought to be the start of long-term preparations for the next ZHP Congress. However, a creative discussion and activities cannot be replaced by the politics of accomplished facts. I consider the KIHAM Agreement as an example of such; it recommends to its members an oath which does not conform to the text adopted by the Seventh ZHP Congress and it encourages other instructors to do the same. Unity in diversity is fine, but we do not agree to lack of respect for laws governing a social entity. These laws are contained in the statute as well as the Code, Scout Oath, and Instructors' Obligation supplementing it. Disregard for jointly established laws and the violation of democracy under the guise of democracy are not identical with tolerance and program-methodological independence guaranteed by the statute.

[Question] Sometimes the program independence is associated in my mind with simply the lack of...program...

[Answer] Well-prepared instructors and reflexive educators accepted this independence with enthusiasm. They are satisfied with the Scout Code as well as the requirements for ranks and badges, because they are able to operate these instruments with such skill that the troop's work achieves the aims and fulfills the expectations, and thus becomes interesting. There is, however, a considerable number of instructors who have to be continuously inspired and sometimes prompted in forms and methods of work. Therefore, much depends on fast training of the cadre and on the proper work of scout districts, which ought to support weak and average troops. We must become again an organization of strong patrols, troops, and tribes.

[Question] The patrol, troop, and tribe commanders are all volunteers. What about the full-time cadre which is still being identified with the union apparatus and therefore considered as the worse one, and also the one which hampers the ZHP renewal.

[Answer] Unfortunately, the black and white picture of our instructors has been commonly accepted: full-time instructors are bad, but the volunteers are good. This is not how it happens in real life. Such a division is clearly artificial and tremendously unfair especially to those who in recognition of their volunteer work, full of passion and inventiveness, were selected as full-time scoutmasters. We do not divide the instructors into full-time and volunteers, but into very good, good, and poor. The idea is to select the full-time cadre from the best volunteer instructors, that is, those who understand their role and actively support the scout units operating in their regions as well as offer these units their advice, experience and assistance. In fact, we must have high expectations of all instructors, because they are the decisive link in the union. We would like to see more instructors from occupations other than teachers, because this would be beneficial to the entire ZHP. However, we cannot eliminate educators so long as they have a "feel" for scout work.

[Question] And so long as they make this choice on their own. Too often in the past teachers were forced to lead troops or tribes despite the fact that they had no idea about the organization.

[Answer] That is true. Many instructors have already left the union for various reasons. It is a pity, because the troops disintegrate, particularly in the villages, where it is difficult to find qualified people. Scouting in this environment is of particular concern to us. We hope that educators will help us with this task. Those who departed are being replaced by others. The newcomers are often experienced instructors who return after a long break. Among them are also the young: high school and college students, full of enthusiasm and desire to work. This brotherhood and partnership of the young and older cadre, the beginners and the experienced ones, is a chance which must not be wasted. The more experienced ones must help the beginners. This is how the social movement of instructors is being created.

[Question] The young were very vocal at the ZHP Congress. Even today they are the driving force of scouting in many environments...

[Answer] And this can only make us happy. After all, their place within the ZHP, their cadre-making role in the entire organization as well as the ability to undertake action of broad scope and considerable importance is of particular significance to the older scouts. We want to consider it not only as the oldest age group, but also as a movement of older scouts which creates a broader field for the social activity of youth and enables the growth of aspirations with age and thus directing them toward increasingly ambitious tasks of social service. We count on their involvement and self-government. The role and place of this group of our members will be discussed at the next meeting of the Supreme Council.

[Question] According to Stanislaw Broniewski, former supreme commander of the "Gray Ranks," the essence of scouting lies in the grass roots and spontaneity.

[Answer] And we want to strengthen it and not to fight what has emerged in our union. We must fulfill the expectations of children and youth and at the same time avoid any disappointment by their parents. Scouting is a way of life--a place of upbringing and self-education. In the course of play and games, acquiring ranks and badges as well as of service for the society, we shape features of character in our members, features which will always be in demand: civil courage, friendliness and cooperation in interpersonal relations, honesty in action, respect for good work, economy, tolerance...

[Question] So needed today and tomorrow. Animated activities can be seen in troops and tribes, although not in all of them. The reaction in the echelons differs, however. Despite the fact that the ZHP Congress approved a 4-year program of strengthening troops--the basic elements of scouting upbringing along with the patrols--the echelons were not everywhere put in the service of the troops. The headquarters and scouting authorities are also accused of too slow enforcement of the congress decisions and reaction to the events taking place in the union without taking into account the real needs of the organization and its membership...

[Answer] We cannot do everything at the same time. This is one truth. Second--there will be always the dissatisfied. For example, we are accused of being slow when we were--in my opinion--honestly compiling the requirements for scout ranks by using the opinions and experiences of various instructors and consulting many. It is understandable that in these circumstances our work was prolonged. But it is probably right that the scouting movement renews from the bottom and "presses" the top. It is important for the "top" (from the scout district to the headquarters) to understand that this is the way things are. The opposite movement means that the organization outgrows the social movement. The situation we are talking about is one of the chances for a scouting renewal in new conditions. It cannot be said that the "top" does not react to this pressure. Many scout districts and councils conduct their own publishing activities and the lack of textbooks and program and methodical publications is the ZHP's main nightmare. The headquarters, despite well-known paper difficulties, came out with the publication of "Motives" and "Young People's Patrol World Library" for three age groups. It also published the congress documents, the statute, and several other materials helpful in everyday work. We are reorganizing instructor schools, their profiles and programs. A lot is being done, although not enough to satisfy current needs.

MILITARY COMMISSIONERS ASSIST POPULATION WITH INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Henryk Wierski: "Military Commissioners in Action: At Citizens' Posts"]

[Text] Inside the conference room of the Poznan-Stare Miasto city-district office is a row of small tables flanked by chairs on both sides. The chairs on the entrance-door side are for applicants and those on the window side, for the military. Although the hour hand on the clock still has not reached eight, the premises are crowded. Conversations criss-cross, questions are asked. Lt Col Marek Krzyzanowski, Lt Col Wieslaw Luczywek and Maj Alojzy Rottan patiently listen to the requests and provide the needed advice.

"Mr Colonel, please help. We have a house in the forest 100 kilometers from Poznan. We need to pick up a lot of things from it, but where are we to get the gasoline...." "Mr Major. Yesterday my entire dwelling was destroyed by fire. I need a place for my family...." "My daughter is about to get married during the holidays in another voivodship. Could I, despite the martial law, travel there for a few days?"

As soon as some leave, their places are taken by others. Outside the door there is a constantly growing queue. Women and men, the old and the young. Time must be found to see every one, even if only a few minutes. Because though their problems vary and some are more important than others, no one can be overlooked. This is a duty imposed by the confidence that has been gained among the people.

Major Rottan tells me: "We have been active here ever since 26 November. Each day we have lots of work, but especially beginning with 13 December this has been real bedlam. Considering that the introduction of martial law has greatly complicated the life of virtually all citizens, this crowd outside the door is routine. All who come here believe deeply that it is exactly the military--and often that it is only the military--who can help. We try, of course, to provide effective assistance--naturally, only whenever possible. Because there also arise problems that cannot be resolved in the present situation. Our applicants unfortunately cannot always understand that specific and sometimes rigorous

regulations must apply to everyone without exception and that for the sake of the common interest we must make certain unavoidable sacrifices."

And yet--as must be emphasized--often it is no fault of the citizens. Once again, in this present immeasurably difficult situation for the country, there is the obvious indolence of certain elements of the administration, their inability or even unwillingness to resolve certain problems, their indifference toward many worries of the people. Certainly, the number of applicants is greater than ever. Certainly, the problems are more difficult and the exhaustion is greater than ever. But does this justify the still numerous instances of referring people from Annas to Caiaphas, leaving increasingly difficult decisions to the military groups? The answer is doubtless no. But although the military are providing an unequivocal example, and actions must be taken, this does not mean and cannot mean that the military will attend to everything for others.

Bright Spots and Shadows

A message has just been received to the effect that there is a shortage of chlorine at the clinic for infectious diseases on Zawady St., and that untreated wastes are discharged directly into the Warta River. Immediate action is needed because, if this is true, the city could be threatened by an epidemic. The commander of the operational group, Lt Col Tadeusz Mierzynski, plenipotentiary of the Committee for National Defense, issues a terse recommendation. A few minutes later, the driver of a green UAZ vehicle, Pvt Dariusz Ratajczak, turns on the engine. Medical Maj Cyryl Wesolowski and Reserve Maj Antoni Banaszak--representative of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy--are leaving to look into the matter.

The machine starts. We pass snow-covered streets, other vehicles, queues in front of stores, crowded sidewalks. The only difference is that the traffic is lighter owing to the prohibition on sales of gasoline to private car owners. The special nature of the situation is emphasized by the military patrols we encounter en route, along with reinforced militia posts. At the clinic there is consternation. Its head, Prof Witold Kiczka, denies that there is any shortage of chlorine. What is missing, and only temporarily, is bottled liquid chlorine. So chlorinated lime, which is equally effective, is used as a substitute. Besides, the situation is also safe owing to the daily monitoring by controllers from the sanitary-epidemiological department who collect samples of liquid wastes at the sites of their discharge into the river. So far, these samples have given no cause for alarm.

For the next 15 minutes or so the problems of the clinic were discussed. They are numerous and often difficult to solve in the immediate future.

The professor declared: "The building we occupy is a prewar structure, adapted to our needs. During the spring thaw the lowest floors are flooded and walls begin to rot. There are not enough elevators, so that patients, oxygen cylinders, etc., have to be carried manually. There is a keen shortage of toilets and hospital beds. The only radical solution of the situation would be a new clinic. Doubtless such an investment will be undertaken, but this is not a matter of a month or two. For the time being, patients will have to be treated

under the existing conditions. Some emergency steps should also be taken to speed up the opening of the infectious diseases ward in the new hospital in Srem. That ward could have been used by now had not it been for the delays in finishing operations by the contractors: after all, patients cannot be housed in cold unheated premises."

It is time to return. At the city-district office new problems doubtless have to be resolved, with more interventions needed. Inside the car there is time for a talk. The major speaks about the health problems in the city district because this exactly is his task within the operational group. He is already quite familiar with the situation and has no special reasons for feeling satisfied. There still exist too many contrasts. There are model institutions from which an example can be taken, but there also exist opposite extremes--enough to make one feel like crying to the heavens. Consider, for example, the two houses for the care of the mentally retarded. One stands on Grobla and is for elderly persons and the other is on Lakowa St and shelters boys up to 18 years old. In the first house there are 12 staff members (nuns), 92 inmates, and an exemplary warm and familylike atmosphere. In the house on Lakowa there are 16 staff members and only 28 inmates and the conditions are truly scandalous. [The military] of course looked into the matter immediately and informed the municipal authorities about their observations and suggestions. They will resolutely insist that their suggestions be carried out.

Mercury "on the Carpet"

At the office of the military commissioners the crowd persists; the queue outside the door has not diminished. Major Wesolowski will remain there, replacing Capt Andrzej Boczkowski who is just about to leave on his next tour of the city-district area. The problem is special: two ladies from Winogradzka Elementary School No 66 came and said they were supposed to pick up an amount of raw and cured meat for the semiboarding school but had no way of transporting it. "So, if you can, gentlemen of the military...." They had to be helped and to this end half an hour had to be taken out of an already crowded schedule.

We are on the way in the vehicle. The store is not crowded, but we enter through the back door. And unfortunately, there we find the same old story. Two gentlemen, caught in flagrante delicti, were just then picking up "meat presents" without having joined the queue. Here, too, the unexpected visit by the military caused consternation, which is all the greater considering that one of these gentlemen happens to be precisely the chief expert on meat affairs at the Retail Trade Department of the "Spolem" Voivodship Consumers Cooperative in Poznan, and the other is the chauffeur of the official vehicle. He introduces himself without any attempt at self-justification since he apparently believes he has a perfect right to do what he is doing. Is that so? If that is so, then why has not the same privilege been extended to the elderly woman who must patiently stand in the queue to buy meat with her ration coupons? The elderly woman has, besides, switched to another store because she said that in this one her strength had given out. The affair is recorded in the captai's notebook. We resume our journey.

By the time we are on the way back to the city-district office, Captain Boczkowski lists one after another examples of neglect, disregard of duties, and speculation. Food store at 72 Sarmacka St. There is an absolute mess in the backroom. The air is hard to breathe and goods are strewn over the concrete floor infested with mice nests. First a fine [had been imposed]. It did not work. So now it was necessary to punish the personnel by dismissal. Clothing store No 124, 7 Szkołna St. In the backroom there are jackets, shirts and pajamas carefully hidden from the buyers. No one can answer when asked for whom these stocks were being kept, considering that the shelves are empty. Food Store No 19. The store has no butter for sale, but in its backroom, of course, as many as 40 kg of butter are found.

Many other such instances could be cited. But Iwona is already waiting. She is 18 and, with tears in her eyes, she came to ask for help. Her parents got divorced and founded new families. At first she lived with her father, but now she does not know where to go. Her grandparents refuse to let her into their apartment although she is officially registered there. And yet they have four rooms in their apartment and rent them out to students. What is she to do? Where is she to go?

We drive to Lakowa St, where her grandparents live. Iwona comes along with us. This time, the grandparents open the door, and they invite us inside. The apartment is indeed large, nice, well-furnished. But even greater than the apartment is the resistance of the grandfather and grandmother; they have so many complaints about their tearful granddaughter. They will not take her in and that is that. "Let her live where she wants, for example, in a room at the Dominican Fathers, who rent rooms for 2,600 monthly. They, the grandparents, already are old, whereas she likes to listen to music and invite her friends. But those friends of their granddaughter might steal things from the apartment, and what then?"

No argument by Colonel Krzyzanowski helps, no suggestion by Major Wesolowski helps. One has to start speaking in a more decisive voice and refer to specific legal provisions in order to finally accomplish the goal. What rightfully belongs to Iwona has been restored to her. She will receive the smallest room and her own key. She will finally have a roof over her head.

But for how long? Will she not return again tomorrow or the day after, weeping to the military? Will she not again ask for help?

It is almost three in the afternoon. All officers and enlisted men--Pfc Stanislaw Hondo, Pvt Zbigniew Zielony, and Pvt Piotr Waliszewski leave the city-district office. It is time for lunch. But this is not the day's end. They will return here after a few dozen minutes, because so many problems still have to be settled. At what hour will they end their civic watch today? Hard to say. They shall remain on duty as long as needed, because no one here is a clockwatcher.

1386
CSO: 2600/169

COMMENTARY ON KPN 'DECLARATION' TO POLISH PEASANTS NOTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Wladyslaw Bielski: "What Is KPN Striving For?: Ideology of Anarchy, Chaos and Lawlessness"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On 12 December 1981 the Central Leadership for Current Action of the Confederation for Independent Poland [KPN] addressed a "Declaration" to Polish peasants.

It must be assumed that an average peasant, just like a worker is not oriented as to the origin and political ideas of the authors of the "Declaration." /Well, their credo and thus their reason for existence is the struggle for the overthrow of the socialist system, and an ostentatious hostility toward the Soviet Union. The KPN considers that the Polish state does not exist and that our country is only a part of the USSR. To change this state of affairs means liquidation of the authority of the PZPR./

That is for the beginning. /After that, according to the KPN plan, it is necessary to create a "Third Republic" which, in a political sense, is to constitute a continuation of the "Second Republic," that is, a pre-September bourgeois-property state/ with dictatorial presidential authority, and numerous restrictions on free speech, press, assemblies, banding together and so on.

"The struggle over imponderables, the highest moral values," wrote Moczulski, "is not a philosophical dispute, in which the only weapons are arguments, but a direct brutal conflict (...) We must create this force."

The trial of KPN founder and leader Leszek Moczulski and KPN leaders who are accused not for their views, but for specific action outside the country against the PRL system, and against the constitution and Polish reasons of state continues.

/The Leadership for Current Action of the KPN spoke up, as it were, for the leaders facing trial. It sent out its "Declaration" to Polish peasants just when the prospect of a gradual emergence from the crisis came into view, while at the same time the clarification of many difficult problems in agriculture and their solution was and is just getting under way./ The talks of peasant representatives with government commissions and local administrative authorities was accompanied

by great emotion, sometimes by purely legal errors, but overall, participants in the peasant-government dialogue displayed respect for Polish reasons of state.

That is why KPN offered them its program, calling on them to create an "independent Poland." Calling on God, Honor and Fatherland, it voices the "truth" about the crushing of Poland by the aggressor from the West and East. This is said to the peasants who themselves either lived through the gehenna of war and occupation, or retain their memory of it, recalling their fathers and brothers killed in partisan action in the forests of Kielce and Lublin, how frequently in common with Soviet soldiers. There precisely in southern Poland, as if in irony, KPN began to disseminate its "Declaration."

It recalls the traditions of Kosciuszko and Racławice and at the same time Rzeszow and Ustrzyk as if nothing had changed with reference to the reality of Poland. There is also mention in the "Declaration" of driving peasants into the "herds of collectivization" and finally treating them "like wild tribes"--this in the context of self-governments, of taking away their right to God and faith, and also--the depopulation of the village through the "casting out of entire peasant generations to dehumanized cities."

"Communists made a beggar state of Poland, which had once been and could be a European granary, living on somebody else's bread and salt" we read in the "Declaration." Naturally, the authors of the "Declaration" are not interested in the fact that Poland never had been a European granary, and that although we had exported grain, many families in the city and country ate meat but once in a blue moon.

/What is involved today, today particularly, is that all potential recipients of the Declaration be aware of who it is addressing them, for what purpose and in whose name./ They also appeal, in the name of many KPN emissaries in Western countries who fled Poland, to Western governments to cease extending credits and other forms to help to Poland. This is who they perceive their self-styled mission of "representing" Poland, subordinating themselves--financially as well--to sources most hostile to us, as well as to West German revisionist organizations.

/And finally, a concluding fragment. "Political transformations, which in the nature of things strike at the cause of Polish misfortunes and woe--the PZPR--cannot be conducted either through labor unions because the area of their activities is not political enough, or the church, because the nature of the church lies beyond politics, nor through official forces such as the United Peasant Party [ZSL], Democratic Party [SD], PAX Publishing Institute [PAX], and so on, because they have compromised themselves, and continue to compromise while bowing to the PZPR." And that is why "because of its (the KPN's) initiative and participation, this driving out of the PZPR apparatus from factories continues."

/Such are the ideological harbingers of anarchy, chaos and lawlessness, despite the consciously directed camouflage, serving from the beginning to satisfy the unrestricted ambitions of a specific group of people./

10433
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BACKGROUND OF LUBLIN SCHOOL CONFLICT EXAMINED

Warsaw TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY in Polish 13 Dec 81 pp 7, 9

[Article by Ina Pieckarska]

[Text] The conflict in the Lublin schools has been in the public's eye for the last few weeks. Information and commentaries offered by the media did not give a clear picture either in terms of the causes or the forms of the strike action. Statements such as this: "involving children and youth in the resolution of conflicts taking place in the school system," or talk about the atmosphere of tension in schools, disruption in studies, and negative effects of the strike on the youth's consciousness brought about the public's concern. Most parents identified the protest of Lublin teachers with the strike of the students and the interruption of studies. Many questions were asked. Many doubts surfaced. I went to Lublin to see for myself what was happening there and clarify the situation for the readers.

My "knowledge" about the Lublin events was rather limited. I knew that on 17 November in response to the appeal of the Education and Upbringing Section of the Central-Eastern Regional Board of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union NSZZ Solidarity teachers in several Lublin high schools went on strike. Two days later an active strike was proclaimed and the action was joined by more than a dozen schools. A strike alert was also proclaimed in a number of elementary schools. Talks between the voivodship authorities and Solidarity did not produce concrete results. On 1 December the strike action covered 30 schools in the Lublin city and voivodship. New negotiations were scheduled for the next day.

These facts coupled with incomplete information from the radio and television on sources of the conflict, which was supposedly caused by the election of the superintendent without an advance consultation with Solidarity, were far too little to answer the questions: What is it all about and how is the strike affecting the atmosphere in schools, studies, and the youth?

My coming to Lublin almost coincided with...a suspension of the strike and signing of introductory agreements. These certainly changed my plans a little, but

they did not persuade me to abandon my intentions to conduct some interviews, particularly with the teachers.

At the Democratic Alliance [SD] Voivodship Committee [WK], Henryk Lusiewicz, chairman, and Janusz Madenski, secretary, suggested that I interview first the members of the Teachers Circle at the SD City Committee [MK], not only because they are members of the Polish Teachers Union [ZNP] and some also of the NSZZ Solidarity, but because they represent many schools of all types so they know best what the conflict was all about. The chairman added that on 27 November the circle issued a declaration in which it clearly presented its stand on the conflict in the Lublin schools. This stand was wholeheartedly approved by the WK and Kazimierz Czerwinski, MK secretary, sent a dispatch on that to KURIER POLSKI.

The meeting was attended by four teachers: Halina Radolowicz, deputy chairman of the Circle Board and General High School 9 teacher; Zbigniew Dolinski, deputy chairman of the Circle Board and Trade Improvement Center teacher; Jozef Juszczynski, General High School 7 teacher; and Emilia Choma, Elementary School 8 teacher. I asked if the selection of the superintendent was the only or the major reason of the conflict.

"Certainly not," explained Radolowicz. "The selection was--as they say--the straw that broke the camel's back, but the causes were much deeper and had their roots far in the past. Specifically they concerned the tragic state of Lublin education, overcrowded schools and kindergartens, content and level of teaching, the status of a teacher, who was pushed toward the social peripheries--not just in terms of social and living conditions and material poverty. Above all, it was difficult to accept the fact that teachers were denied the right to voice their opinions on the issues most important to them: education and upbringing of the youth. Falsehoods in textbooks, particularly in such subjects as history, geography, and Polish, which we had to feed the young generation as well as awkward, usually incompetent school administration, which treated the teacher as a submissive tool, and, finally, the spiritual 'killing' of youth organizations--all this evoked bitterness and produced internal tensions and objections. August brought hope for the renewal of education in the entire country, our region included. The teachers' Solidarity submitted 20 proposals regarding education to the governor. The strike began as an outgrowth of our struggle for the realization of these postulates. The incident with the superintendent additionally eroded our confidence in the reform of the educational system and strengthened our resolve."

"You did not approve of this appointment?"

"Certainly. But there was more to our bitterness. First, the decision violated the law, because according to the decision of the minister of education and upbringing of 29 December 1973 the selection of a superintendent ought to be made in consultation with the trade unions. The governor may not have known this decision, however, it should have been respected by the Education Division of the Voivodship Office as well as the ZNP Regional Board [ZO]; particularly in view of the fact that it was the ZNP which brought about the introduction of this law. Second, the whole affair had also a political aspect as well, because

according to the rules of the Commission for Political Party Cooperation (Point 3) the selection ought to be approved by the PZPR, ZSL [United Peasant Alliance] and SD. And yet the SD had not been consulted, although in this instance it was of particular importance, considering the fact that until 1978 the candidate, Kazimierz Jagowdzik, was an SD member, and that Lusiewicz immediately submitted his objections both to the governor, Eugeniusz Garbiec, and the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW], Wladyslaw Kruk."

This is, in brief, the genesis of the protest of Lublin teachers. I am looking at the 20 demands. Most of all they focus on a broadly understood self-government of schools, implementation of changes in the teaching programs, and resolution of the most difficult problems in the teaching profession. For example, Point 1 says: "To approve the Founding Committee of the WSROIW [Voivodship Social Council on Education and Upbringing] in Lublin, which represents all interested in education, as well as to create conditions for democratic election of WSROIW and guarantee its power to control the realization of the signed agreements on education"; Point 2: "To print within 6 months textbooks in history and Polish free of falsehoods." Point 5 talks about creating conditions for the development of independent scouting and youth movements, and Point 8 about satisfying needs for kindergarten care by 31 December 1982. Other demands deal, among others, with personnel reorganization in foster homes, extending education to mentally retarded children, and organizational-personnel matters.

Points 2 and 8 raised my doubts in terms of deadlines demanded. Juszczynski explained that the SD Teachers Circle had the same doubts. He added, however, that it is possible, for example, to reprint a good textbook, "History of Poland, 1795-1914" by Groniowski and Skowronek, as well as a collection of documents on World War II, which had been already published, but only in 1,000 copies.

"This is shocking. So many other books are published, but not textbooks. But why be surprised if this year, for example, the history classes for high school juniors have been reduced by 1 hour...."

Juszczynski commented also on WSROIW as it related to the signed agreements. According to him, it was a considerable success since two most controversial matters were resolved. They involved the process of establishment of the council (it will be created by a 43-member initiating group) and the agreement that this group will be entrusted with defining the scopes of authority and activity of the council.

We returned to the discussion of the strike. I mentioned insufficient information fed to the public and that thousands of parents did not really know who was on strike: the youth, the teachers, or both. My interlocutors were surprised and shocked. They clearly pointed out that this was a teachers' protest and they were the only ones responsible. The youth attended regular classes accompanied by strengthened discipline. They did not lose anything--they gained, in fact. In the absence of such classes as physical education or defensive training [p.o.] they were taught history, psychology, and literature. Lectures were conducted by college instructors, scholars, and writers--people commanding a tremendous social authority.

"The youth was extremely interested, just to mention such lectures as on the Warsaw Uprising by Professor Kloczowski, or on the 'Catholic Character of Polish Patriotism' by the Rev Professor Brzozowski from the Lublin Catholic University [KUL]. This particular form of the active strike did not have a negative effect on the didactic-educational process, instead it enriched it with direct contacts with the academic community, workers, and the clergy. The schools were permeated with an atmosphere of seriousness and calm; there was discipline and order."

The opinion of Radolowicz was confirmed by others. Dolinski stated that the strike mobilized the youth to a greater self-discipline and responsibility. The media would have to take the credit for the fact that a part of the public did not know exactly what it was all about. This was mentioned in the SD Teachers Circle resolution: "...The Teachers Circle at the MK SD in Lublin expresses its objection to the tendentious presentation of events and situation in the Lublin schools by the media, particularly by the television and TRYBUNA LUDU in connection with the current protest action of teachers.... Distorted information creates fear among parents, disinforms the public, and creates negative educational results." Colleague Dolinski added that there is too much noise about these matters when the pupils have no shoes to wear and soon they will have to go barefoot to school....

And now Choma's turn: "There was no atmosphere of tension or nervousness. Initially, some parents came to me, asked questions, perhaps they were afraid a little. When I explained to them that nothing was happening, when they saw that the classes proceeded normally, and we, the teachers, concerned ourselves with teaching and discipline of our charges, they calmed down. The word 'strike' was not even mentioned in classes. Undoubtedly, more information could be helpful, although the Solidarity bulletins and information broadcasted at Krolewska St presented the true situation in schools."

Of a different opinion were my interlocutors at the ZNP-Education Region Board: Jerzy Krupinski, deputy chairman, and Sabina Wladzinska, secretary. They were not necessarily totally opposed to the Solidarity demands, some of which agreed with the ZNP demands submitted to the Lublin governor as early as 1980. They were referring to the strike.

Wladzinska noted: "Upon learning about the strike we immediately called a meeting of the presidium to which the delegates to the 23rd National ZNP Congress were also invited. We issued an appeal to the teachers, which read as follows: 'The last days in the Lublin schools and atmosphere permeating the teachers' community is of particular concern to us. We are aware of many difficult problems of education in Lublin and of the need for a rational solution. The ZNP has submitted a number of proposals in this respect to the local authorities. We diligently push for the total realization of our proposals. However, we maintain that any school strike is not a game, but an educational failure.... We support the teacher groups in their movement toward far-reaching self-government of schools and educational-upbringing centers. We agree with the demand for revision of teaching programs in many subjects and we have maintained for a long time that it is necessary to improve the working conditions in education-upbringing and foster centers as well as the living conditions of their staff members. Above all, let us remember, however, that it is the child,

the youth, who are the subjects of our activity.... We decisively reject strike activities in which the subject of our work is pushed aside, and in which the atmosphere of martial law, conflict, concern, and chaos is created."

Wladzinska added: "We know--we studied the situation--that not all pupils bothered to turn out for a roll call. And not all of the Solidarity teachers joined the strike. For example, General High School 3 did not participate in it at all, despite the fact that most teachers there are Solidarity members. Also, in one of the Lubartow schools at the parents' meeting only four parents voted in support of a strike. Often MSZZ Solidarity campaigned at parents' meetings. For example, at the General High school in Swidnik and the Pedagogical and Technical Schools Group in Lublin. I wonder if in a situation when the school principals are replaced by strike committees and when the youth become so very unsure of themselves--as teachers had a chance to observe after the roll calls--this energy and these youth's emotions will not turn against us. Will these events allow us to control discipline in schools?"

Similar doubts and fears were expressed by Krupinski: "I ask myself the same question: What if these emotions overpower reason and the youth, for example, take to the streets? We are against the slowness and indifference of the authorities in resolving educational problems and we expressed it in the ZNP ZO resolution of 25 November. We are for changes in teaching programs. But must we resort to strikes to achieve that? Is this the right method of patriotic upbringing? Perhaps, if the colleagues from Solidarity had informed us of their plans and suggested cooperation, maybe we could have jointly come up with another sensible and effective course of action."

I ask my interlocutors about the demands. Which of them bring out the most reservations and why? It appears that Points 17 and 19 are the ones. The former says: "to recall immediately from their positions all socially unacceptable management personnel (name roster available in the section file) and appoint in their place new people after conducting a wide public consultation by 31 December." The latter concerns immediate rescission of appointments to principals and vice principals of schools and other educational centers who were appointed last October without consultations with Solidarity.

"What does 'socially unacceptable management personnel' mean and where did this mysterious list of people convicted and rejected in advance come from?" asked Wladzinska. "Compiling of such lists reminds of the blackest period in our history. And as to Point 19, I can only say that is against the basic principles of democracy. At the same time, it is just striking that among so many different demands by Solidarity there is almost total lack of concern for education in the villages, where teaching conditions are simply tragic."

At the conclusion of the conversation, I asked about the attitude of ZNP toward the selection of the superintendent and the signed agreements. My interlocutors agreed that it was improper to ignore the trade unions in the nomination process, but the choice was absolutely correct. They knew Kazimierz Jagowdzik as a teacher and the social chairman of ZNP ZO, elected by a secret ballot last January, and they believe that he can do a lot of good for Lublin education as the new superintendent. Both, however, spontaneously expressed their protest against the agreement signed with Solidarity.

Wladzinska stated: "We are shocked that education is discussed without our participation. We believe that an agreement without our participation is not an agreement and, therefore, we do not intend to respect it."

Krupinski added that they hope that these were only introductory talks, which at least contributed to ending the strikes. The ZNP, however, cannot and will not remain on the sidelines, because it is important to resolve the educational problems in the city, and even more importantly in the entire voivodship.

As I have already mentioned, on 2 December the strike was suspended (the strike alert remained in force). An introductory agreement stipulating a resolution of all strike demands was signed by the Lublin governor and the Regional School Strike Committee. For now, the agreement stipulates, among others, the establishment of WSROiW with appropriate powers and areas of competence; additionally, the governor approved the existence of the Independent Scout Movement and of the Federation of School Youth, and permitted implementation of the early initiated changes in the texts and methods of teaching history, Polish, philosophy, socio-economic sciences, and ethics.

I was also able to elicit a short comment on the strike from the chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity Regional Board, Jerzy Bartczak. He stated, among other things, "that the most important matter was to implement socialized education, a process which could not have started without a strike. Thus, the strike was necessary and it has brought no harm to the youth. Rather, it was an excellent educational experience, because of the exposure to many fields of science, many interesting people, and many important historical facts. The socialized education just started must continue."

My last interlocutors (not the least important, though) were the pupils: Dorota, a General High School junior, and Krzysztof, a Technical School of Electronics senior. They also noted that during the strike there was no mess in school or a "nervousness time," and most of all nobody forced anybody to do anything. Dorota recalled with appreciation the lectures on ethics and Polish national traditions. Krzysztof found the lecture on "The Truth About the Lie" (about the mechanisms of propaganda) the most interesting. He also made a rather very characteristic comment: "Since August, madame, a lot has changed in our interactions with teachers. Now we can honestly and bravely talk with them, ask them questions about various problems knowing that we will be given an answer. Before it was not that easy."

8609
CSO: 2600/152

BRIEFS

CENTRAL COMMITTEE LECTURERS MEETING--A meeting of PZPR Central Committee lecturers, organized by the Central Committee Ideological Department, took place in Warsaw on 13 January. On this occasion the theme of the meeting was the sociopolitical situation in education. Eugeniusz Duraczynski, director of the Central Committee Science and Education Department, and Boleslaw Faron, minister of science and education, presented an analysis of this situation. They provided information on the most important events which characterized the educational community during the past year, emphasizing i.a., the significance of the attempt on the part of the state authorities to improve the life of teachers, the negative effects on the work atmosphere in many schools of dividing teachers into two trade unions, and attempts by the political opposition to eliminate the influence of the state on education. The two men also described the situation in schools after the imposition of martial law, calling attention to the improvement in discipline and order, the necessity of conducting intense upbringing work with youth, the need to aid teachers in their daily work, and the importance of the influence of school party organizations on the normalization of life within the [school] community. [by PR] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jan 82 p 2]

RURAL YOUTH UNION MEETING--The Presidium of the National Board of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] held deliberations on 8 January in Warsaw. The deliberations were devoted i.a. to a discussion of the program of celebrations which are to mark the 25th anniversary of the ZMW this February. The Presidium members took cognizance of the proposal to create Youth Agricultural Chambers [Mlodziezowe Izby Rolnicze-MIR] as an organized composite structure for implementing the ZMW program of work with young farmers. The essential purpose of MIR is to call forth a self-governing movement serving to satisfy the social and educational-cultural needs of farming youth. The Presidium also took cognizance of the realization of statutory tasks by union circles and echelons in the martial law situation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Jan 82 p 7]

CONFERENCE OF SCHOOL OFFICIALS--The regular consultative conference of rectors from universities, economic academies and higher pedagogical schools took place on 8 January. The conference was devoted to preparations for the resumption of teaching activities at these schools, and was chaired by the head of the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, Mieczyslaw Kazimierczuk. The discussion concentrated on the draft guidelines presented by the ministry concerning

the activity of higher schools during martial law, and on the provisional regulation of daily studies. Particular attention was devoted to ways of making the organization of the course of studies more efficient, to the intensification of teaching, and to assuring the high level of the latter, allowing for the specific characteristics of individual schools and directions of study. The importance of direct contact with students by the teaching cadre in upbringing work was emphasized. Brig Gen (Prof) Edward Wlodarczyk, plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Jan 82 p 2]

'INTERPRESS' FACILITATES TELEX--Warsaw, 18 Dec (AFP)--The news agency INTERPRESS today put a telex at the disposal of foreign journalists to send dispatches submitted to Polish censors. It was the first time since Monday, a day after martial law was declared by Polish authorities, that Western journalists could use transmission lines to send their copy. The Polish agency INTERPRESS has been transformed by events into the Foreign Ministry's Press Center. [Text] [NC181656 Paris AFP in English 1648 GMT 18 Dec 81]

DEFLECTION TO FRG--Wiesbaden, West Germany, 2 Jan (AFP)--The son of Polish Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski defected last June to West Germany, where he now lives as a political refugee, informed sources said here today. Artur Rakowski, 23, who said he left Poland "for political reasons that have nothing to do with my father," has refused to make any statement on current events in Poland. A journalism student, Mr Rakowski reached Germany from Sweden, where he and his wife had been authorized to work. He has applied for an emigration visa to Australia, where he hopes to settle with his wife and two-year-old child, also living in West Germany, the sources said. [Text] [NC021617 Paris AFP in English 1614 GMT 2 Jan 82]

CSO: 2022/22

'SCINTEIA' COMMENTS ON LATEST CSCE ROUND

AU201818 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1650 GMT 20 Dec 81

[*"Daily SCINTEIA Highlights Need for Converging Efforts in View of Successful All-European Forum"*--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Dec (AGERPRES)--A dispatch from Madrid, referring to the cessation of the All-European Conference, published by Bucharest newspaper SCINTEIA on 20 December, comments upon the results of the negotiations in the last stage, started on 29 October, and mentions that under the influence of the very complex and contradictory international situation the forum was unable to leave behind the difficulties existing in the process of working out the final document. What is more, the author writes, both within the drawing-up groups and during the meetings in the plenum the search for mutually acceptable solutions has been replaced by controversial disputes and confrontations, this being not of a nature to help convergence of stands. Practically speaking, the newspaper concludes, the negotiation process has come to a halt, no progress having been scored as compared to the situation existing before the previous cessation of proceedings.

Related to this state of affairs the author highlights the vivid preoccupation of the small and medium-sized countries, of the neutral and nonaligned states, whose efforts have been aimed in recent weeks at leaving behind the existing divergences, at finding unanimously acceptable solutions, in view of creating conditions for a conclusion of the All-European forum in positive results. There is mentioned the draft final act, presented several days ago, that is the result of the efforts made by these states, by the small and medium-sized countries, Romania among them, whose initiatives and proposals regarding the implementation and strict observance of the principles included in the Helsinki final act (renunciation of force and of the threat with force in the inter-state relations, the calling of a conference on measures for confidence building and disarmament in Europe, ensured continuity to the process opened in Helsinki, cooperation in the fields of agriculture, science and technology, development of relations in the field of the youth, etc) are extensively reflected in the draft document.

Yet, the Romanian newspaper strikes the conclusion that the debates within the latest plenary meetings can be viewed as a "barometer" of the way in which the draft document was received by the delegations of the participant countries. In spite of differences in point of nuances, of reserves as concerns one formulation

or another, the reception given to the draft final act was generally positive, the newspaper goes on, mentioning that representatives of many states have stressed it to be a solid foundation for leaving behind the present deadlock and for concluding the soonest the conference, planned for February.

All participant states' understanding this necessity and showing political will are the essential elements on which there depends the implementation of the joint commitment to conclude the conference the soonest possible, by endorsing a substantial and balanced final document--SCINTEIA reads in conclusion.

CSO: 7020/25

DISCUSSION ON REVOLUTIONARY HUMANISM, HUMAN RIGHTS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Sep-Oct 81 pp 950-954

[Article by Dan Mircea Popescu of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy on the roundtable discussion on the subject "Revolutionary Humanism and the Rights of Man," organized by the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy's Institute of Political Sciences and the Study of the Nationality Problem, held in April 1981, with participation by Adrian Nastase, Dr N. Androne, Emil Gluvacov, professor Dr docent Edwin Glaser, Dr Ion Raduica, Dr docent Al. Bolintineanu, Dr Ioan Vida, Mihai Arsene, Dr Gh. Berescu, Dr Simon Radu, Dr Dumitra Popescu, Cristian Ionescu, Nicolae Ticea and Afilica Ganci]

[Text] The study of the problem of the rights of man is part of the continuing effort of Romanian doctrine to increase its contribution to understanding, furthering and carrying out the policy of our party and state in this area. The Romanian view on the rights of man begins, as emphasized by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, with the need to ensure fully equal rights between people and to achieve certain equitable economic and social relations that will allow each person to lead a dignified life, from the unrestricted access to education, science and culture to the opportunity to directly participate in the management of all of society. The Romanian view on the rights of man continues to attract numerous researchers that are dedicating their activities to reveal the new values of this especially generous view. In this regard, one example is the discussion organized by the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, with participation by faculty members, researchers and specialists in the field of political and juridical sciences. Here, we will present the principal ideas of the participants in this discussion:

Nastase: The problem of the rights of man cannot be dealt with in isolation, but rather in connection with other major problems of international affairs, such as peace, security, disarmament and development, with there being a close interdependence between the fundamental objectives of the contemporary world. Thus, some of these objectives (peace, international security) represent indispensable political premises for the achievement of human rights in the world, and other objectives (disarmament, development) represent premises for achieving the material conditions to implement human rights. In the last 15 years, a right of development has been created as an area of international rights positively centered on the development of countries. At the same time, one can also speak, however, about a right to development, a subjective right that can be associated with each individual taken separately or with a community taken overall. The right of nations to development, a component of human rights, responding to certain collective needs of individuals, would also give expression to

a new reality in contemporary society: that of increasing interpersonal, community and national relations, of accentuating processes for achieving solidarity and participation and of developing national awareness.

Androne: There is a close correlation between the rights of man and "the right to the development" of countries and peoples. The right to development is currently finding a broad expression and devotion.⁸ Among the documents that express and show this right, one can especially quote "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," "The Pact of Human Rights," "The Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of Countries," "The Declaration Regarding Progress and Development in the Social Domain," "The Declaration Regarding the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" and numerous other United Nations resolutions. Since by its essence and finality the process of the development and progress of nations involves man it favors raising the standard of civilization and culture for human beings, the right to development can be correctly considered as a fundamental human right. The achievement of the right to development also clearly requires a series of obligations. It is without a doubt that the main obligation for promoting economic, social and cultural development belongs to each country, each nation. Underdevelopment cannot be eliminated, however, merely by the efforts of the poor countries themselves, but through an efficient international action and through a close cooperation between all countries by eliminating inequitable economic relations and replacing them with new standards that favor the rapid development of the developing nations.

Gluvacov: In order to truly provide the full freedom for man in contemporary society, a freedom necessary for his multilateral development and emancipation must, first of all, ensure economic rights, with the other rights being closely tied to them. Within this framework, international trade relations represent a field closely tied to the general aspect of the development of countries and, in particular, to the rights and duties of citizens and traders along the lines of needing to liberalize trade and the transfer of technology on equitable bases for developing nations and for the fulfillment of the global objective - a new economic order on fully equal legal bases.

Glaser: From a political and legal point of view, the most discussed problem regarding fundamental human rights is that of knowing whether these rights constitute an institution of internal law or international law. The right of people to self-determination, with this itself being the theoretical and practical basis for all human rights, also involves through the prerogative of each people to decide its own fate without any outside interference the right of this people to sovereignly establish the rights that man enjoys in that part of the world where this people lives. In this sense, human rights constitute the prototype for constitutional rights, while the constitution is the prototype for the source of "internal law." The respect of the right of people to self-determination constitutes the indispensable premise for achieving human rights on the territory of each country. Colonialism perhaps represents the most crass negation and violation of human rights, beginning with the right of man to life, food, health and so forth. The progressive world, with Romania in its

⁸ See for example the report of the United Nations secretary general regarding the international dimensions of the right to development as a human right; UN/CN/4/1334 of 11 December 1978.

front ranks, proposes the creation of a new international economic order, the elimination of the gaps between "those that have" and "those that do not" and the promotion of a system of relations that will give preferences - in other words, "inequalities" - to the underdeveloped countries, non-reciprocal preferences.

Raduica: The "internationalization" of human rights and the attempt to give a "human dimension" to world policy and to create a "diplomacy of human rights" constitute premises necessary for the capitalist countries' desired intervention in other countries via the "promotion and protection" of human rights. Despite the fact that human rights exist and can be expressed fully only within the national framework and the state collective entity in which the individual lives and works, we still understand that there is - and it should be introduced in the foreign policies of all countries - a human dimension in the sense that all states' actions of international policy should have as their sole purpose respect for the rights of peoples and satisfaction of their interests, with it first of all being necessary for international relations to be carried out in strict conformity with the principles that govern international law and with a policy of peace, detente and cooperation. It should be remembered, however, that no international document signed under the aegis of the United Nations grants to a state or a group of states the right to intervene in such cases (the violation of human rights), with this right belonging exclusively to the United Nations and its specialized institutions, the only ones competent to determine whether we have a real violation of human rights and to adopt the appropriate measures to put an end to such situations. Dealing with the problem of human rights, by those countries that pursue the promotion and protection of these rights in other countries, begins with false premises, avoids truly substantial aspects of this problem and channels discussions towards peripheral and non-essential aspects.

Bolintineanu: The adoption of certain international agreements and documents in the field of human rights represents a basic method of cooperation in promoting these rights. The purpose of these activities is to help states in drawing up and improving legislation referring to citizens' rights and freedoms. Furthermore, this is an obligation that a state assumes when it becomes party to an agreement - that of introducing their provisions into its domestic laws, certainly to the degree in which these laws do not contain them. In thus referring to the content of agreements, we find that frequently as a result of the fact that they are the result of a compromise between the concepts that are encountered in the field of human rights, the agreements do not sufficiently regulate the essential aspects, but rather the formal, procedural facets and have completely general and imprecise provisions. Another aspect having negative repercussions regarding the application of agreements lies in the attempts of certain Western circles to impose procedures to pursue the manner of implementing these agreements, attempts that are incompatible with the nature itself of agreements, with the sovereignty of states and with the principle of noninterference in domestic affairs. In essence, these attempts have as an objective the creation of certain supernational control mechanisms that will "judge" states upon the request of certain citizens who would complain that their rights were violated and "review" activities with regards to the "achievement of human rights." Such attempts are rejected by the vast majority of states and some provisions that were adopted, like those to examine petitions in subsidiary organs of the United Nations General Assembly, were held to limits corresponding to agreements, respect for the sovereignty of states and noninterference in domestic affairs.

Vida: In the policies of the capitalist countries, human rights are no longer what they should be, that is, an aspiration of the members of a nation towards better things and towards a more dignified human condition that is officialized and ensured by political power through legal norms that will also have an organizational and material framework for implementation. We have here a movement of the area of interest with regards to the problem of human rights from the framework of a state-individual relationship to a new relationship interposed by the international environment, with its center of gravity being the political interests propagated at an international level. In such a context, a true mystification of political relations occurs: at the basis of this no longer lies the interests tied to resolving the economic, social and cultural problems between countries, but human rights that become a subject in themselves for political discussions or even influence inter-statal problems, thus upsetting the real relationship between human conditions and their economic, social and political environment. The vast majority of Western political concepts that promote such a view involves the universalization of human rights in an international context incapable of achieving them as a result of the economic, social and cultural gaps of the contemporary world. In this manner, the problem of human rights acquires a significance totally different from its real one and it frequently becomes a political screen that hides interests having absolutely nothing to do with so-called "improvements" to human conditions, attempting to blur the serious contradictions of the contemporary bourgeois world, its structural crisis and the tensions and violence that have been raised to ever higher levels by economic recession.

Arsene: The great problems of the contemporary world - underdevelopment, the insane arms race, lack of security, inequalities in the current international order with all its consequences: the gaps, hunger, disease, illiteracy and so forth - represent an attempt on a daily basis and in massive proportions upon respect for the fundamental rights of contemporary man. The process of building socialism in a series of states and, in addition to this, of eliminating the colonial system involves the need to replace individualist views upon human rights with a new, constructive view in accordance with the profound social and national changes that have occurred in the lives of the people. This need was addressed in the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation Europe, held in 1975 in Helsinki, a document in which human rights are conceived of as a unified entity and respect for which must be achieved in its entirety.

Berescu: Analyzing the rights of man upon spiritual values means analyzing the degree of humanizing both moral principles and norms and relationships practiced between individuals, the degree in which the individual assimilates moral concepts and the manner in which this area of spirituality and moral action humanizes or dehumanizes him. The accentuation of the processes of moral-spiritual alienation in contemporary capitalist society represents a logical and natural consequence of the phenomena of the current economic and political crisis in the capitalism of the period. Alienation is brought about not only by working for the profit of someone else, but also by the lack of work for millions of people. Anger and fear have their source, therefore, in economic and social causes. The moral-spiritual alienation generated by an economic situation maintained by an atmosphere of uncertainty and by a lack of security in life because of violence and crime cannot be eliminated within the so-called consumer society. Humanism, therefore, and human rights also represent a scientific ideology

and theory, while preponderantly individualistic bourgeois ideology and morals are factors that stimulate alienation. Certain larger masses' access to the results of science and technology, to revolutionary organizations and to the authentic values of culture also brings about the introduction of a militant, dignified, revolutionary spirit that opposes morbidity and moral depravity, awaking the political and moral virtues capable of eliminating phenomena of alienation and their causes.

Radu: In analyzing the relationship between human rights and the means of mass communication we cannot omit the manipulative potential of these means. By simply placing them within a society, the press, movies, radio, television and so forth bring about important changes in the people's lives. If I only mentioned the continuing restructuring of the vast budget of this media and the expenditures connected with using the diverse mass media, the revelation of this manipulation would be sufficiently convincing. There also exists, however, a second type of manipulation structurally marked by the social order in which it is produced. It is primarily ideological and is achieved principally through the intermediary of mass media messages. And, the message of mass communication is simultaneously information and a model, awareness and norms. By disseminating and promoting the cultural models characteristic of a certain society, the mass media contribute to maintaining the considered social-cultural status quo. Mass communication actions involve the use of a message industry (non-existent or very little developed in numerous countries) and transnational mass media companies (especially North American), producing a veritable cultural invasion in our times. This situation does not allow us to remain indifferent, with Romania constantly advocating the adoption of specific and efficient measures designed to lead to the elimination of the disparities that persist in the field of information and to the expression of national sovereignty and the cultural identity of all peoples.

Popescu: In the context of establishing certain adequate relationships between the development of society and the requirements for protecting the environment, the sphere of human rights was expanded through the appearance of a new right, that of a right to a healthy environment. The quality of the environment constitutes an essential aspect of the human condition itself since man's living conditions - health, work hygiene, the standard of living, the level of comfort, the level of recreation - are factors which in the final analysis determine the perspectives for the development of human society and the destiny itself of future generations. In the area of foreign policy, Romania promotes a series of actions and initiatives designed to ensure the right to a healthy environment for all peoples of the world, the carrying out of disarmament and, first of all, nuclear disarmament, the creation of a new international economic order, the elimination of colonialist practices, neocolonialism and racism and so forth.

Ionescu: In drawing up and carrying out a new strategy for the building and development of society through the full, authentic expression of man's personality and his creative abilities, socialism has announced and at the same time applied a new concept regarding the fundamental rights of man and has beyond a doubt connected the social needs and requirements of the workers for a real democracy as a form of government in which, for the first time, the popular masses are at the helm of leadership and are freely creating their own destiny. In light of such a concept, one can say that one of the essential characteristics of the new civic statute and the relations

between the state and the citizen lies in the creation of a broadly democratic framework for attracting the masses to the leadership of society and in the guarantee of all civil rights and freedoms. It is a fact validated by practice that precisely these rights, which are vital for the human condition, represent the ideal fully achieved in our society. From this point of view, dealing with human rights from the perspective of the state's fundamental activities and its functions, especially the social functions, can offer specialized doctrine new ways to conduct investigations, to analyze civil rights and to theoretically outline new rights and expand the content of certain rights already outlined in our constitutional system.

Ticea: Our party's constant concern for ensuring the optimum ways in the area of human rights of going from the field of possibilities to the field of reality is not just an overall concern, but rather goes into nuances and differences depending upon the specific factors in different fields of economic-social activities or in territorial regions. The arguments supporting this idea is especially clearly shown by the realities of the current stage of development in our society. In speaking of the nuances of implementing the rights given in the Constitution, we cannot omit the measures to accentuate the local autonomy of administrative-territorial units, not only in the area of economic-social planning by introducing a territorially specific plan, but also by expanding the attributes of the local organs of state power and administration into many other areas. Organically integrated into the framework of the system of the state's organs and the entire political system of contemporary Romania, the state administration, by being fully into the process of democratically and scientifically furthering its characteristics, can make a remarkable contribution to transforming human rights into a specific and viable reality.

Ganci: When we speak of human rights we are obligated to admit that the fundamental right is that of affirming man as a human being. But, about which man are we speaking and what does his affirmation as a human being mean? We are thus sent to a concept about man, to a human ideal. It is true that we can speak with a certain easiness about several generally human, especially admissible factors. But, we do not resolve anything in this manner. This is true since from the perspective of our discussion we must keep in mind what Marx and Engels called "the flesh-and-blood man," in other words a real person. It is true that within these factors there also are those generally human ones. And, he is a real being not because of these factors, but because of his specific features. The affirmation of man as a human being is expressed through his affirmation as a type determined by man. In a certain social context, there are a number of human needs specific to this social context and the satisfaction of these needs appears as a sine qua non condition for the affirmation of man and, implicitly, as one of his fundamental rights. When we speak of the affirmation of man in Romania, we have in mind the specific Romanian nature of humanism. Since throughout our history a certain way of dealing with the great existential problems has been created and expressed in a objective concept about man and in the immediate behavior of people. The value system naturally bears the imprint of the personality of the Romanian people since our concept regarding man and our socialist humanism must be a natural continuation and a development of Romanian humanism. Any attempt to impose other concepts regarding man and other value systems which, because of their specific nature, contradict the specific essence of the axiological system created over the course of the history of the Romanian people will fail since man's adherence to them will appear as being against his nature.

Through the participants' statements, this discussion pointed out the complexity of a problem that cannot be isolated from the other major aspects of a country's domestic affairs and that is correlated with aspects of international affairs and with the right of states to development, independence and peace.

Keeping in mind the major problems of the contemporary world, these statements brought to light our country's constant concern and the party's constant concern for ensuring the movement from possibilities to realities in the problem of human rights.

8724
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BOOK ON EDUCATION OF MILITARY CADRES REVIEWED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Sep-Oct 81 pp 979-981

[Review by Dr Dumitru Curuz and Marin Dumitru of the book "Eseu despre educatia ostaseasca" [An Essay About Military Education] by Constantin Atanasiu, the Militara Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979]

[Text] One value of the writings by the author, Major General Constantin Atanasiu, retired, a work to which we will continue to refer, expresses a true scientific continuum in the field of social psychology. Having the experience of two world wars and using the advances in modern educational science, the author not only proves to be a scholar in this field, but also exhibits a "youthful" enthusiasm in his more than 8 decades. The book to which we are referring is the result of a broad scientific investigation having profound politological, sociological and psychological accents. For the first time in our psycho-sociological literature there is a work that innovates in the methodology of military education in a pedagogical manner. Although simply entitled "An Essay About Military Education," this book represents a true use of the theoretical knowledge and especially practical knowledge of the author in the very complex field of the theory of military education and a true guide for present and future generations regarding the application of entropy in the military domain.

Similarly, we note the originality of the author's concept regarding military education for shaping the soldier in our army as a multilaterally developed person.

The author gives a remarkable interpretation to contemporary military education, using the results obtained by modern science, such as: information science, computer science, biopsychology, the sociology of education and so forth. In this regard, we encounter in the pages of his book an ardent and convincing plea for the use of the results of science in activities for the political and military education of the soldiers in our army. Exhibiting an analytical ability and having scientific arguments at the same time, the author tells us of his "actionalist" concept, as expressed, in the final analysis, by the effects of activities for educating military personnel.

We again find the specific nature of his concept regarding political and military education activities as a conclusion in the statement: "A man of action must be instructed, educated and made fit. This means a complex, integrating power ready to be unleashed in order to express the personality" (p 205).

The first chapter of the book broadly presents the dialectical connection between education and all social activity and the interconditioning that results between the multitude of data acquired by human beings throughout the years and the results of daily activities. The conscious activity influenced by political and socio-economic purposes and by the standards of societal behavior acquires both an applied nature and a prospective, predictive nature for seeing into the future and adopting the most appropriate measures. Such an approach requires evaluating and "re-evaluating" the concept itself of military education, with the creation of a soldier's personality expressing an educational direction and a means of expressing its full creative potential. In the army, educational activities create an internal cohesion in the soldiers and internal motivations having a profoundly collective nature for the defense of people under our flag. Educational activities are institutionalized in Law No 14/1972, which is based on the doctrinal principle that the "defense of the country is a cause and effort of all the people" and that the army is an integral part of the effort to build a multilaterally developed socialist society.

The chapter "Military Education in Contemporary Social Times" tells us of the educational process in the army in the context of the great changes that are taking place in our society and in a contemporary world ever more influenced by the technical-scientific revolution. In the author's view, the science and art of education must discover new psychopedagogical principles and methods to make people sensitive and dynamic. The author's plea for combining theory with practice and for new things is represented in the subject-environment relationship, the relationship of the teacher to educational aids and audio-visual equipment used in the work of creating generations of defenders, and the interdependency between all the specialized forms of education. At the same time, he presents the need to continue the training acquired in civilian life, the military experience and the educational content that is gained during the entire period of military service, an idea that must guide all those who are involved in the military education of the young generations.

The chapter "The Human in Military Development" analyzes human dynamism through the prism of psychosocial connections and the states that evolve in the making of military life and education. Beginning with the consideration that the dynamism of people is directly influenced by a psychosocial connection, certain tensional states are presented as phenomena and processes that take place and are developed in people. Internal perturbations are considered by the author to be functional deformations of the human being expressed by slow or sudden collapses of the psychic potential and military behavior in general, as well as during the conduct of certain missions. Beginning with the concept of our party regarding the defense of the country as the work of all the people, the author presents and demonstrates using viable, believable and at the same time scientific arguments that both courage and heroism are possible only under the conditions of a high psychic consumption that is directly influenced by the degree of training and awareness and, no less, by the level of technical equipment in the units and subunits and the number of aggressors.

In the chapter "Exact Estimations in Social Pedagogy," the author points out the contribution of mathematics, information systems, information science and computer science in education. Bringing mathematics into education is, in the author's view,

the means of covering the educational phenomena and processes through abstracts and symbols and of achieving a qualitative leap in educating people, involving not just an "archivist" inventory of people's knowledge, but a direct implementation of contemporary military education. Bringing mathematics into educational process ensures a quantifiable view that seems to be a necessity in the psycho-social field, with mass theory representing something new in the military field that contributes to making educational productivity more efficient.

In the chapter "Entropy and Educational Practices," a separate place was dedicated to the discussion of the problem of going beyond the difficulties that can spring up in the path of the formative educational process (the information explosion, the accelerated rate of contemporary technical development, the need to master an ever greater volume of knowledge and data and so forth).

Beginning with the basic concept of entropy, as a value of probability for the molecular state of thermal energy and a certain physical-chemical state applied and extended into the educational field, the author introduces elements into the formula for entropy: the specific initial ability of each person; disruptive tensions caused by events with which the person interacts; and the entropic effect upon the ability of the subject. In the author's view, educational work and the process of forming a person defeat the inherent obstacles of the great affairs of our times. In this regard, the author calls for a more complex understanding of man and his potential, using graphic presentations of entropic rings that serve to strengthen the meandering concept of psychic energy.

The chapter "Adaptation" is significant for the author's personality and scholarly nature where he presents, successively, the processes that lead to human adaptation and integration, the problems of readaptation, the speed of adaptation and the educational problems in directives and orders. In a new sense, he presents the correlation between education and modern science and the influence of computer and information sciences upon the creation of operational skills for thinking on the basis of a continually growing volume of information. At the same time, he presents the functional relationship between the young soldier and the educational factors: the commander-teacher; military life (the environment); weapons as a means of action and combat (the tactical world) where "the quantitative accumulations achieved throughout the forms and means that were presented are expressed in the spiraling development of the personality and behavioral integration of the individual" (p 131).

The chapter "Military Manhood" stands as a distinct part and presents the pedagogical activities of the military cadre with the young draftees subjected to becoming familiar with the military environment, discipline and adult vigor. Through several arguments, the author calls for the military cadre, in the relatively short time of military training, to demonstrate the closeness and rapid and accurate understanding of the young military personnel, promoting empathy for mutual understanding and the simultaneous living and working of the officer and his subordinates. As a school in which the young person continues his activities at a higher level of understanding for the phenomena and processes that take place during the period of fulfilling his military service, the barracks constitutes, at the same time, a place to consolidate his personality and to create convictions and habits as a defender of his socialist

country. We can note the warm plea of the author for the entire educational process to be aimed at the full affirmation of military manhood and for the fulfillment of the ordered mission to defend the country or to participate in the economic development of all the country's counties.

Illustrative of his entire cognitive-intuitive and (probably) practical comportment is the manner in which Major General C. Atanasiu, retired, combats the rigid forms and methods of disciplining the human potential and eliminates formal and momentary aspects of sever, unthinking discipline. Discipline is correctly regarded as the result of making the subjects aware during a continuous and dynamic transformation, to the degree of the changes that take place in the country's social structure, in all economic and social activities and in our country's entire democratic system. At the same time, he also presents aspects of military comradeship and the homogenization of the collectives of soldiers as a result of identifying their goals so they can work in full unity through increased efforts on a physical and intellectual level, as well as the scientifically and pedagogically programed training for the affirmation of military manhood.

The book "An Essay About Military Education" is a significant contribution to the development of military pedagogy in the formation and education of generations of soldiers in the spirit of and in accordance with the great social-economic, political and spiritual changes that are taking place in our country. Useful both for military educators and for those who are working to prepare the population to defend the country, we warmly recommend it to the readers, who will find in its pages daily ideas and interesting suggestions for increasing the effectiveness of the patriotic education for all our country's citizens.

8724
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PROBLEMS OF POSTAL SERVICE IN BUCHAREST EXAMINED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Sep-Oct 81 pp 954-955

[Article by F. P. Micsan: "Optimizing Social-Economic Activities in the Postal Sector;" covering the third edition of the scientific session of the Bucharest Municipal Postal Directorate, 26 May 1981, in Bucharest]

[Text] The annual session for scientific reporting of the Bucharest Municipal Postal Directorate [BMPD] was carried out within the framework of the "Song of Romania" National Festival and was organized by the Commission for the Scientific Organization of Production and Work, Development, Investments and Technical Progress belonging to the Workers Council in the BMPD. Participating in this session were leadership cadre, economists, lawyers, sociologists, other specialists, chiefs of postal offices in the capital, postmasters from the offices of the Post, Telephone, Telegraph and Radio [PTTR], chiefs from press shops, technicians and so forth, as well as diverse political and public figures from this field.

The opening speech was presented by the president of the Workers Council and the RCP secretary in the BMPD, Alexandra Roman, who pointed out that this session was part of the major concerns of the current stage of our country's economic-social development, which is now in the five year plan of economic quality and efficiency.

The presents that were presented dealt with a series of important social and economic problems specific to the postal sector: socioprofessional integration and the participation of the workers working within the services provided by the PTTR in Bucharest municipality, the efficient use of the labor force in the telegraph sector, the expansion of the mechanized system for processing data relating to records on expenditures and so forth.

The report "Socioprofessional Integration of New Workers in PTTR Postal and Postal Clerk Positions" kept in mind a research effort completed on the basis of questionnaire given to a sample of young workers and clerks (up to 30 years of age) in several post offices in the municipality of Bucharest. A broad range of problems were dealt with: professional direction and the motivation for previous changes in professions, potential fluctuations in and the attachment to the current profession, interpersonal relations in the working group, mutual help, help received from superiors, evaluation of the work and so forth. The research showed significant aspects of the activities of beginner workers and clerks, revealing a series of causes behind their failure to

become integrated. It was shown, among other things, that there was a need to give greater attention to the young people's problems of work and life and to their professional direction since the casual selection of a profession, without competent guidance, can many times lead to a failure to become integrated and to poor work results. In order to resolve the numerous problems that stem from the young people's socioprofessional integration, the author of the study (sociologist Florian Popa) formulated a series of proposals for practical, specific measures whose implementation will be pursued by the leadership of the BMPD.

Other reports referred to the implications of the means of using the work force upon the quality of the telegraphic service in the capital. Dealing with the consequences of establishing phased processing times upon activities for distributing and using the work force in the telegraphic sector, one of the reports, which created lively interest, analyzed in detail the manner in which the processing of telegraph traffic can be effectively achieved by the PTTR subunits. These new control timeframes, introduced just recently, constitute a control objective on the part of the Technical Quality Control organs, as well as an element upon which the payment of telegraph couriers depends. Of the three types of telegrams - flash, urgent and regular, all the possible combinations were created that could be received and a check was conducted into the manner in which they fell within the control timeframes (60 minutes, 90 minutes and 120 minutes) under conditions where the subunits had two to three telegram couriers per shift and the service regions of the offices varied between 26 and 196 kilometers. The study's conclusions showed that, keeping in mind the amount of the traffic flow - the level of peak-hour traffic - which varies from one post office to another depending upon the days of the week, the month of the year and certain holidays, as well as the available workforce and the means used to travel, it is impossible for the new control times to be respected, a fact that requires a structural review of these times. The author of this study, economist Traian Taloi, pointed out that in establishing the new control times it is necessary to keep in mind the various influencing elements and the need for economic efficiency in this field, really improving the quality of telegram distribution, whose beneficiary is the public.

Beginning with the powerful realities confronting the contemporary world, including our country, a series of studies initiated by the BMPD proposed the means to reduce transportation costs within the framework of postal services in the capital and to rationally use the motor pool in accordance with the increase in the volume of activities. In analyzing the existing situation and the bureaucratic-type disadvantages that it presents (numerous entries and calculations, the inability to effectively pursue the status of costs and so forth), the report "Optimizing Records and Pursuing Costs Related to Vehicle Transportation" (by Andrei Marinescu, an economist) proposed a series of measures to improve the manner of keeping records and pursuing the costs related to vehicles rented by the BMPD. Primarily, the proposed measures call for a working system that involves these operations being taken over by enterprise's computer office. This way, they will avoid a lack of discipline and abuses, ensuring a simplification and an opportunity for analyzing transportation costs. Through the new system of ensuring the correctness of the itineraries, the number of kilometers allocated to each transport vehicle and the time the vehicle stands idle, certain workers are freed from a series of bureaucratic operations and correct calculations and the exact situation of daily costs are computed for each post office and vehicle, increasing the computer load levels in the computer office.

The value of the studies presented during the discussions created lively and interesting comments, showing the courage and responsibility with which the young authors approached these problems, as well as the practical use of the proposals formulated to improve the quality of the postal services in the capital.

The modest, but traditional scientific event of the Bucharest Municipal Postal Directorate, already in its third edition, brings attention once again upon the potential represented by the young specialists who directly work in the enterprises and in production and who are enjoying the broad opportunities for professional expression and development and the optimum working conditions created by the RCP over the fruitful period of the last 16 years of building the new society.

8724
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BARBU ATTACKS EXPATRIATES LOVINESCU, CARAION

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 25 Dec 81 pp 1, 7

[Article by Eugen Barbu: "What Are You Doing Now 'Mother' Lovinescu?"]

[Text] I do not know how long Monica Lovinescu has been living in Paris, but figuring overall on the basis of the amount of trash that she throws weekly at Romanian culture through the channels of Radio Free Europe, I believe that not even the Seine has carried as much filth during the same period of time. Awhile back, I wrote somewhere that I understood her up to a point, living out a personal drama that we, of the present, are not guilty of, but rather a group that was sent into the nothingness of history. And, the wounds are still healing; not the whole earth and not the millions of people living in Romania have to be cursed at for what was done in our names by certain hired persons. Monica Lovinescu, however, condemns everything from her place in Paris. Nothing has been done here in Romania. The country is exactly as she left it. You and your husband, Ion Caraion, who tells us that we are 22 million prisoners within our current borders, a group of coerced people, as they like to call those who fall within the category used by these ardent polemists. Romania, right now, is in ruins from all points of view. I want to credit these two gossips, whom I listen to from time to time, with creating a vast amount of disgust.

For approximately 40 years they have been keeping track of everything that is written in Romania. They have defamed Sadoveanu, they have defamed Arhezii; with regards to the writers of the Left, what can we say, because for this radiophonic two-some they were dead from the moment they were born! Among the contemporary writers, only those, who have just proved, by fleeing from the country, to be the clients of this suspect conjugal kitchen pair, have been given good marks, grades and probably some monies in secret accounts. It is more than certain that this sad list of those who have sold out their country will be supplemented with other names, and they will be just as low, just as untalented and just as greedy for the glory that they think awaits them on the banks of the Seine and in other places around the world. To like Goma and to curse the author of "Fratilor Jderi" [To the Brothers Jderi]! To make Ben Coriaciu a "European" writer and to call the author of "Cuvinte potrivite" (Fitting Words) a so-so author! This is something that right from the very start reveals an ill-faith, if not an opacity worse than anything else. Calinescu, Nichita Stănescu and Liviu Rezu are just some amateurs alongside Virgil Tanase, Tepeneag and Petru Popescu! We could continue this confrontation of names, but it serves no purpose. The broadcasts from this couple are actually dedicated to people who are lesser informed with regards to literary affairs. They are aiming at the masses, but the masses are not interested in Virgil Untaru's trilled r's or Mother Lovinescu's pathos.

As far as I am concerned, I am enjoying increased attention from these two polemists, who I thank from the bottom of my heart for the commotion created. Probably sometime they will gather together all the compliments I have given them over the airwaves and in writing so as to understand that in this world all things are repaid. And, because we are bad and they are good children, I want to inform the Romanian readers who do not have the time to be interested in the bad things that I have done recently that, according to the two gangsters who use the airwaves instead of handguns, because of me all the educated people in Romania who have opted for this so-called "freedom" were driven out of Romania by my hate, by my pamphlets, by my slanderous remarks and, especially, by their desire to sit on Mother's lap when she, in her great kindness, would place a little "something" in who knows what safe. The author of this article, according to the latest news from Radio Free Europe, together with the group that I lead, the 20 or so persons, we managed to chloroform the editor responsible for the obituary column in the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA and put in an insidious announcement telling of the irremediable end of a poor priest named Popescu, from among the many millions of people named Popescu in Romania. Diabolical as I am, so says the poet Ion Caraion, a recent deserter, that he also was forced to flee to Switzerland because of me. Perhaps I am such a powerful man that I succeeded in giving housing to him and getting him employed as the gray-haired eminence of the Cartea Romaneasca Publishing House, where he slashed and sliced for years, creating his acolytes among the ranks of the Romanian literary prostitutes, and, more than certainly, that I am the very one who published the prefaces in which he slandered Iorga, Arhezi and Calinescu. Furthermore, I want to inform Monica Lovinescu and Mr Virgil Ierunca and even Ion Caraion, with whom I will be more carefully dealing in the coming weeks, that I can actually surprise them by telling the first two that they have received a sheep pen wolf of the Dumitrescu Zapada type! Probably the chiefs who pay the salaries of those who work at Radio Free Europe will also retire this couple after other spectacular disappearances from their places before the microphones, because their last client is the author of a pathetic poem dedicated to the Chief, published in PADUREA ROMANEASCA, as well as certain articles also written in the more interesting Legionnaire publication PURUNCA VREDII, is that not so, Ion Caraion?

It is true that there is a photograph of a young man by the same name dressed in a little green shirt in Buzau, however, we do not have it, but who knows where things will pop up! Mr Ion Caraion brags that he was locked up by the communists, but he forgets that he was locked up by the State Security [Siguranta Statului] for reasons that we will outline. During that time, Mrs Monica Lovinescu was probably nursing on baby dolls, but this is no excuse...

As far as I am concerned, I admit that I am to blame for: the 1940 earthquake; starting the Moreni fire; the Vintileanca train crash; the start of World War II and preparing for the third; the drought of 1947 and the floods of 1971 and 1975...

If Mrs Monica Lovinescu finds out that some type of cholera, bubonic plague or epidemic of Spanish flu is coming, I ask her to blame them on me with complete certainty!

8724
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YUGOSLAVIA

WESTERN COMMENT ON CONTROLLED PRESS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFUTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Jan 82 p 10

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Belgrade's Fear of Openness"]

[Text] Vienna, 4 Jan--Anton Rupnik, a Slovenian journalist who was working in Bonn for awhile as a correspondent for the DELO, a newspaper that comes out in Laibach, published a book about the FRG which he called "Sign D" or also "Under the Sign of D (U Znaku D). It was printed in a Serbo-Croatian (Globus Publishers, Zagreb) and also in a Slovenian edition and was published last fall at exactly the same time when the Goethe Institute put on a German culture week in Laibach. BORBA, the central newspaper in Belgrade, used the cultural week organized in Slovenia as an occasion to threaten German journalists with closed borders. The journalists had reported on the great interest in this event in Slovenia. But Rupnik's book and the attention it received all over Yugoslavia clearly shows that the Yugoslav public--and in particular Slovenians--want to get information about the FRG. Rupnik's book goes a long way in meeting this desire since it supplies factual, comprehensive and well-documented information about Germany.

In his book, Rupnik praises the Federal Press and Information Office in Bonn, and he feels that it is contributing conclusively and effectively to the formation of the image of Germany abroad because of its open and active information policy. The author leaves no doubt about the fact that he received a lot of information from the Federal Press and Information Office earlier during his work as a correspondent and also when he was working on his book. Rupnik made no secret of his own ideology, which is based on socialistic positions. But because he apparently received all the information he wanted in Bonn, the work which he authored is remarkably objective, something which in turn benefits the FRG as well.

Last but not least, Rupnik may be praising the Bonn Federal Press and Information Office so highly because he, like many journalists and politicians in Yugoslavia, misses similar institutions in his country. Even the criticism voiced on Yugoslavia's side deals with the fact that the makeup and the personnel of the appropriate secretariat in Belgrade seems to hinder information rather than give it. A few weeks ago, when the appropriate agencies in Belgrade decided to suspend the import of Western press products into Yugoslavia, its current manager, an Albanian by the name of Bajra and a supporter of Rakali--the former party chief in Kosovo who has been overthrown in the meantime--gave as a reason the strained foreign-exchange situation. Bajra praised the press of the East bloc because its products were cheaper and they did not have to be paid in foreign exchange.

Now Bajra has to revise his decision; the revolt by the Yugoslavian public was too great. Since 1 January Western newspapers are again permitted to enter Yugoslavia. Within a few weeks Bajra will leave office.

The state and party agencies that are in charge of press affairs in Yugoslavia appear to be among the most dogmatic agencies. No wonder that they are increasingly coming into conflict with its own press. The periodical NIN quoted from the speech of a party functionary by the name of Kronja during a meeting of the "Socialist Alliance" in December. "A spirit of liberation and similar trends" could be felt in the Yugoslav press; the "constant downgrading of the economic situation is causing much damage at home and abroad"; it could even lead to the conclusion that Yugoslavia is experiencing "a crisis of the system." The main concern of the party seems to be that foreign countries might get information from the Yugoslav press. "The most reactionary newspapers abroad," Kronja declared, "are quoting from our press." Nevertheless, even this functionary had to admit that in view of the events in Kosovo "a few flaws" in Yugoslavia's information system had become apparent.

Yugoslavia's present information policy toward foreign countries follows the line of trying to prevent as much information as possible about the difficult economic and financial crisis from getting out of the country. The reason may be that right now it is of utmost importance for Yugoslavia to give to the OECD and even more to the International Monetary Fund only carefully selected materials about Yugoslavia's economy. Requests by foreign journalists for interviews with high Yugoslav economic functionaries are denied again and again or they are not answered. It is evident that this policy is raising serious doubts in the reliability of the officially published statistical material.

During the last year, the majority of Yugoslavia's newspapers and magazines tried to loosen the chains of official language rules. Apparently dogmatic functionaries do not like it. Nevertheless, since things are not only presented more openly in the press but also in Parliament, it happens that discussions in Parliament, like the one dealing with tariff policies proposed by Kostic, federal secretary for finance, are also censored. Another thing that doctrinaire functionaries do not like is the increasing differentiation between "liberal" and "party-line" press products. Party Functionary Kronja felt that it was not right to label some press products as being "true to the regime" or something similar only because their reporting is "responsible." This attribute, for instance, is frequently bestowed on the magazine SVIJET, which is published in Sarajevo. This magazine is considered the mouth-piece of dogmatists.

The demand by doctrinaire functionaries for a new muzzle for the press have not been without opposition. Strong opposition came especially from people from Slovenia, led by Jozse Smole, who is in charge of foreign relations in Ljubljana. In his opinion, politicians in Yugoslavia should get used to speaking in public. Above all Smole rejected the argument that the "enemies" in foreign countries or the foreign press were taking advantage of the openness of the Yugoslav press. Smole did not comment directly on the work of the Yugoslav information apparatus, which is considered inadequate even in high political circles. It is known, however, that personnel changes are planned in April when another "rotation" in the government will take place; later there may even be changes in the appropriate party apparatus.

SITUATION AT BELGRADE PHILOSOPHY FACULTY

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Jasna Kesić: "Organized Action Against Relics of the Past"]

[Text] Though nearly 7 years have passed since the eight professors were expelled from the School of Philosophy in Belgrade, traces of the events of that time are felt in this school even today. There has been quite a bit of debate and quite a bit written about the events themselves, there is talk about it even today, but little is known about the consequences, which were actually far more important. They are felt even by today's students in this school. They still wear the imprint of that time, and both within the university and outside it it is not uncommon for them to encounter an aversion and the now conventional sentence: "Ah, so you are from the School of Philosophy...."

After the events in 1975 the party and youth organizations fell into a crisis. Some of the professors and teaching assistants in the group for philosophy, sociology and the history of art withdrew from the League of Communists, so that today, for example, not one of the 15 or so instructors of the history of art is a member of the League of Communists.

A Step Forward

But it appears that an end has finally come to the sociopolitical lull at the School of Philosophy, a lull that was encouraged even from outside the school, since the belief was that it was a good thing for nothing at all to be happening there. That "nothing at all" implied even demobilisation of the party and youth organizations. That unfortunately is exactly what happened. However, an important step has now been taken at that school to organize sociopolitical life, for which establishment of the permanent conference of the League of Communists is largely responsible. This higher educational institution has brought back the permanent form of operation of the League of Communists, and that immediately following the caucus in April last year of 3d-year and 4th-year sociology and philosophy students, who called for an open dialogue on the expulsion of the professors we mentioned. This, however, was only the pretext, and the reasons, as is usually the case, go much deeper.

Though the bylaws decision of the University Conference of the League of Communists in Belgrade does not provide for the existence of permanent conferences of

the LC [League of Communists], the University Committee of the LC decided after a conference in the headquarters of the Serbian LC Central Committee to recreate permanent conferences at all university schools and junior postsecondary schools in Belgrade in the upcoming party elections. Nikola Ristic, a member of the university committee, had this to say:

"When the permanent conferences of the LC were abolished and the action conferences introduced, the primary party organizations and individual party members of the university became still more passive and demobilized. The principal reason was the ad hoc nature of the action conferences and the nonexistence of permanent working bodies that would initiate campaigns and coordinate the work of the primary organizations of the LC. Experience has in and of itself imposed the existence of a joint body at the level of the university school, especially in view of the number of members of the LC."

Where Is the Youth Organization?

The decision to create the permanent conferences of the LC at the university has already justified itself in the constructive experiences of the School of Philosophy, which was the first to establish such a conference.

"The April caucus of students of the group for sociology and philosophy was yet another confirmation that we need a party unity that will synchronize the work of all primary party organizations. That is indeed why we established the permanent conference, which consists of three students and two instructors from each of the 11 primary organizations of the LC," explains Professor Vladeta Tesic, chairman of the LC Conference of the School of Philosophy. "One of the most important issues which the conference will constantly be concerned with is the overall security situation within the school. After all, after all that has happened in recent years, we want to involve as many students as possible in social self-protection."

One of the more important tasks which the party conference has set itself is to establish relations with the youth organization at the school, since the situation in that organization, in Professor Tesic's opinion, is rather bad. The organization of young people does not have a program around which it could rally students, and a huge number of young men and women at the School of Philosophy do not even belong to it.

For a long time there has been a vacuum in the work of the youth organization. Its activity was mainly confined to forums. Vesna Janjic, student and secretary of the party organization of the group for pedagogy, adds that organizations of the LC have been compelled to "put pressure" on the youth organization for 3 years to get them to elect a student delegation to the Council for Research and Instruction and the Council of the School of Philosophy.

In the short period of its existence the permanent conference of the LC has also raised the issue of establishing a forum in the school for debating relevant domestic and foreign political topics and ideological and other problems. A group of instructors has been created to draw up the program of topics that would be of interest to the students of this school.

In the opinion of Vladeta Tesic, many such things will also have to be changed in the party effort itself at that school, where there is still not sufficient organizational firmness or responsibility. It will not be easy to overcome the relics of the past. Meetings still pass mainly in silence, and the entire political and party effort over the last 6 or 7 years has been passed on to the students, since the instructors have mainly not wanted to become involved in it. Since 1975 the secretaries of all primary party organizations at the School of Philosophy have been students, and there have been very few professors and teaching assistants even among the members of the secretariat.

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YUGOSLAVIA

UNIVERSITY PAPER'S REFERENCE TO PRISON CAMP DRAWS FIRE

Sarcastic 'Letter'

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 81 p 3

[("Letter" by Momcilo Petrovic to LCY Central Committee Presidium)]

[Text] I regard it as my communist duty to inform you that I recently learned, by reading issue No 20 of AUTO SVET, of the existence of a camp on Goli [Bare] Island for persons accused of "Cominformism" in 1948-1955.

Inasmuch as none of you has ever mentioned the existence of that camp, nor did I ever hear anything whatever in school on the subject, I assume that you were unaware of Goli Island, so that is why I am writing this.

Let me explain: I have heard quite a bit about Stalin's purges and about their being the consequence of the cult of personality. The hair stood on my head as I read excerpts in NIN from Karlo Stajner's stirring book "Povratak iz Gulag-a" (Return From the GULAG). At the same time, I was proud that such did not exist in Yugoslavia and that I am a party member, a member of a party that did not besmirch its history with anything similar. But then I read, in the aforementioned issue of AUTO SVET, an interview with Antonije Isakovic and excerpts from his still unpublished book "Tren II" (Moment II). And I found out that persons accused of "Cominformism" were sent circa 1950 to Goli Island, where they were subjected to the worst physical and mental mistreatment. Inasmuch as this has only now come to light (insofar as what is in the book is accurate), I suggest to you in the interest of the party that you investigate the "Goli Island case" and inform the public thereon.

I shall be so free as to mention some of my own reflections concerning Goli Island. Because, as I say, none of you has heretofore mentioned Goli Island, I draw the conclusion that you did not even know about that island. In the interview in AUTO SVET, furthermore, Antonije Isakovic says that Dobrica Cosic said that neither Edvard Kardelj nor Aleksandar Rankovic "knew about the sufferings on Goli Island." Hence, I draw the conclusion that not a single high-ranking official of party or state knew about the camp on Goli Island. I draw the further conclusion that this was all the doing of some demented Stalinist captain or perhaps major. Your task, accordingly, is to find that officer and bring him before a court. Not because he imprisoned Cominformists and persons that he thought to be such, but

because he exposed them to tortures (insofar as Antonije Isakovic's book is not the fruit of imagination) worthy of Nazi concentration camps and Stalin's GULAG. Bring him before a court in the name of those who gave their lives during the revolution for a society in which there was not going to be any torture. In the name of those who survived clashes with the enemy in wartime only to die at the hands of officials of new Yugoslavia.

I am sure that you will easily resolve this proposed task.

Belgrade, 12 December 1981.

[signed] Momcilo Petrovic, student,
communist, of Belgrade.

Rebuttal of Criticism

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 81 p 4

[Unsigned commentary]

[Excerpts] Extremely serious accusations have been levelled concerning the "Letter to the LCY CC Presidium": the author of the text is allegedly demanding a reinvestigation of party decisions taken in 1948. A discussion has been requested that would lead to defining the ideological commitment of members of the board of editors.

The "Letter" needs no explanation. A reader unburdened with prejudices will grasp that the author, regarding the physical and mental tortures on Goli Island to be a blot on our history, was suggesting that more be said about the era during which these tortures took place. And nothing more than that. Accordingly, the tirades of some individuals on the significance of 1948 are superfluous. We know that. And we are proud of the "no" that was said to Stalin. There is no ideological confusion in us. We have been following, are following, and will keep on following Tito's path. To the question as to whence the cynicism and irony of the text, we answer: you have been keeping quiet for 30 years. We hold that we are entitled to make fun of you.

We do not live in the clouds: we know that we will find ourselves many more times in a situation where we have to write such texts. We shall write them, convinced that we shall be genuinely understood some day.

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Feb 9, 1982